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ABSTRACT

Urban acculturation of American Indians in Flagstaff and Winslow, Arizona was surveyed. Demographic data were obtained from Bureau of Census publications and unpublished maps and statistical tables. Sociological data included research on employment patterns, housing, economic impact of Indian consumers, and settlement patterns within urban centers. Anthropological information was gathered on inter-group attitudes, view of city living by Indian residents, acculturative processes obtained in the city as shown by participation in town life, and descriptive categories of Indian urban residents. Interviews were conducted with about 50 non-Indians in employment, housing, business, and other professions (35 were from Flagstaff) and about 45 Indian residents (10 were from Winslow). Additional data sources for all three areas were newspaper articles, field observations, and participation in various events involving Indian residents. Findings included: more Navajos resided in both communities than Hopis and other tribal groups; although Indian residents were found in nearly every employment category, many were unskilled or semi-skilled workmen; the reservation-based consumer trade was quite important to the economies of both towns; and Indian residents disliked such aspects of city living as available housing and money needed for daily life. (NQ)

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AMERICAN INDIANS IN SMALL CITIES:
A SURVEY OF URBAN ACCULTURATION
IN TWO NORTHERN ARIZONA COMMUNITIES

Roger E. Kelly
and
John O. Cramer

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FOREWORD

The study reported in this monograph developed from a variety of sources. Mr. Kelly's interest and knowledge in this area is a prominent source. His participation as Research Anthropologist with the Department of Rehabilitation is another. The Department of Rehabilitation sponsored and administered the Navajo Rehabilitation Project, funded by the Vocational Rehabilitation Administration and the Preparatory Training Project, funded by the Department of Labor and Health, Education and Welfare. Both projects were concerned with vocational rehabilitation of the Navajo Indian.

As professional participants in these projects, Mr. Kelly and Mr. Cramer evolved this urbanization study. As they indicated, if rehabilitation is to be successful with different cultural groups, we must know something of the problems of urbanization which they face. The results of this study, therefore, provide rehabilitation personnel with an understanding of the cross-cultural transition problems now faced by one particular group -- the Navajo.

The findings reported herein should provide many social service agencies and organizations some further information concerning the needs existing in cross-cultural transition. I sincerely hope we can all benefit in making changes and/or revisions in social programs in light of the information provided. This is a needed step if we truly intend to "help" other cultural groups participate in our larger culture.

Dr. Ronald A. Peterson,
Chairman
Department of Rehabilitation
Northern Arizona University

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In recent years, social scientists, planners, politicians, and many others seem to have rediscovered the city as a place needing research, master plans, social action programs or general reform. Current interests in the development and growth of cities, their social and ethnic segments, and social problems among professional and non-professional persons are shown in a recent *Life* magazine, "The U.S. City", (December 24, 1965), an issue of *Scientific American* entitled "Cities" (September 1965), an issue of *Saturday Review* "Making American Cities More Livable" (January 8, 1966) and the establishment of a cabinet-level Secretary of Housing and Urban Development in the Executive Branch of the Federal government. Books on urban problems and processes are being written by politicians (Weaver 1965), sociologists (Reissman 1964), social historians (Mumford 1961), and many others.

This small study follows the current interest among some anthropologists in the cultural change aspects of native peoples now living in cities not of their making.

We must acknowledge the help given us by many people. Through the good offices of Dr. Ronald Peterson, Navajo Rehabilitation Program Director, the research grant was secured and administered. Dr. Peterson aided in research design and the developing of the survey. Reverend George T. Wright (Federated Community Church, Flagstaff), Reverend Andrew P. Gresko (Shepherd of the Hills Lutheran Church, Flagstaff) and Reverend William Vogel (United Presbyterian Church, Winslow) were the local liaison group of the Arizona Council of Churches, the funding agency. These men were very helpful and observant informants. Mr. Herb Hukriede, a community worker for the Council, is to be thanked for his observations and knowledge of Winslow. Mr. Donald Beilder and Mr. Thomas Buerge, past and present managers of the Winslow Indian Center, helped in getting additional informants, facts about the Center, and other data for us. We are also appreciative of the help given by the managers of the Winslow and Flagstaff Chambers of Commerce, Mrs. Lonny J. Fergus and Mack Forrester. Housing Authority personnel in

Flagstaff and Winslow were very helpful in supplying detailed information on Clark and Brannen Homes in Flagstaff and Northwest Square in Winslow. We also thank the civilian personnel office staff of the Navajo Army Depot.

Thanks are extended to colleagues Willian Griffen, Chairman, and Charles Case Assistant Professor, of Northern Arizona University, Department of Anthropology for their encouragement, support and suggestions. We are also thankful of the skilled hands of students John Running, who drafted four figures, and Ingrid Horstmann who typed the manuscript.

We cannot name each person who helped in the research. To do so would mean a long list of auto dealership sales managers, grocery store managers, other businessmen, personnel managers of industries, city and county officials, and of course the Indian residents who endured our questions. We thank them all.

Roger E. Kelly
John O. Cramer

May 1966

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In 1950, Ralph Beals called for research by anthropologists and sociologists on urbanization and acculturation of minority segments of the general population (1951). Since Beals' address, some anthropologists have become interested in the "urbanization" of native Americans, minority groups, and previously rural societies in North America and elsewhere. Studies dealing with American Indians in urban centers are becoming numerous. Three large Midwestern cities, St. Louis, Milwaukee, and Chicago and the Indian components in each have been briefly surveyed by Ritzenthaler and Sellers (1955) and Verdet (1961). California cities, Los Angeles and San Francisco, and the adjustment of relocated Indians in them have been researched by Ablon (1963, 1964) and Martin (1964). Indians in other major western cities, Denver and Albuquerque, have been studied by Graves and his associates (1965) and Hodge (1965a, 1965b). Indians living in smaller cities and towns have been studied by Hurt in South Dakota (1962) and Leubben (1962, 1964a, 1964b) in a southern Colorado mining town. Rapid City, South Dakota, has seen three studies of Indian residents (Lindquist 1952, Lovrich 1952, and White 1960). At least one Bureau of Indian Affairs-sponsored survey of living conditions in Southwestern "border towns" has been accomplished (Lautzenheiser and others 1952; Cadman and others 1952).

Most of these studies, except those by Hurt, Leubben, Lautzenheiser and others, and Ritzenthaler and Sellers, are of governmentally relocated families and individuals in large cities often far from Reservation homelands. More research seems needed in smaller cities and towns closer to Reservations where "self-relocated" Indians may migrate. To partially fill this gap in urban studies and to assist the personal adjustment, counseling, and job placement phases of the Navajo Rehabilitation Project of Northern Arizona University (formally Arizona State College), a brief research survey was designed and funded by a $1400 grant from the Migrant Worker Ministry, Arizona Council of Churches. The research project, titled Urban Acculturation Survey, was accomplished by the authors during the summer months of 1965. Conditions described or factual data given refer to the July-August period of 1965. The results presented here are not to be considered as final or definitive since the survey was limited by available time, money, and personnel. The survey, was, in essence, simply an overview. We hope other researchers many become interested in continuing such work and would welcome a full scale project. Suggestions for future work below indicate possible directions that other researchers may take.

Survey research was designed to gather specific data in three areas - demographic, sociological, and anthropological. Demographic data were obtained from Bureau of Census publications as well as from unpublished maps and statistical tables. The sociological unit included research on patterns of employment, housing, economic impact of Indian consumers, and settlement pattern within urban centers. Anthropological information was gathered on inter-group attitudes, view of city living by Indian residents, acculturative processes obtaining in the city as shown by participation in town life, and establishing descriptive categories of Indian urban residents. Interviews with about 50 non-Indians in employment, housing, business, and other professions were held in both towns; about 35 were from Flagstaff. See Appendix A for interview form used. Interviews were held with about 45 Indian residents, all but 10 from Flagstaff. Two forms were used; Appendix B illustrates the original form which was too long to administer in most situations and was abandoned early in the study period. Appendix C is the greatly shortened interview form which was used for nearly all interviews. This latter form was used as an open-ended set of questions which probed attitudes that we felt indicated general acculturation and adjustment in a short interview period. Interviews with Indian residents were largely held on the job. Indian informants were not selected at random but we believe were representative since an attempt was made to include persons of various tribes, different job levels, age and sex groups, and time in either town. Informants were located through friends, employers and other informants. It is recognized that some informants withheld opinions, perhaps misunderstood questions, or were influenced by the immediate surroundings, but for the most part we believe responses were accurate. Additional sources for data in all three research areas were newspaper articles, field observations, and participation in various events involving Indian residents.

Hypotheses tested by survey research were the following:

1. Acculturation between American Indian groups and "Anglo" culture becomes accelerated in urbanized areas having a population of at least several thousand or more persons because of various factors found only in "Anglo" established urban areas.

2. Anglo-established Reservation towns are helpful intermediate steps in adjustment from rural to larger urban communities.

3. Off Reservation northern Arizona towns as medium size urban areas having other ethnic-racial minorities and having historical contact with Indians are easier places for Indians to live in than larger urban areas with less historical contact and smaller ethnic groups.

4. Pueblo-dwelling Indians such as Hopi experience less disruptive influences than non-Pueblo dwellers because of their familiarity with village-town life and other reasons.

Unfortunately, not enough informants had previously lived in Reservation "agency towns"; therefore, this hypothesis could not be answered. The conclusions and discussions relative to the other hypotheses are in Chapter 6.

Terminological Notes

There exists confusion in terminological frameworks by which one may discuss the cultural situation of Indian persons residing in urban areas as examplified by Flagstaff and Winslow. Certainly the studies mentioned above contain instructive terminologies, but each researcher seems to be feeling a different part of the elephant of nomenclature, describing the animal from different vantage points.

The term "urbanization" is most often employed to describe Indian populations in towns and how they got there, but usage of the term varies widely. Ablon uses urbanization to discuss the establishment of new American Indian ethnic groups and their new sociological associations in urban areas (1964). Hurt sees urbanization as the adjustment patterns of Indians to urban environments (1962). Lewis Worth, in a classic article, believes that urbanization "...refers to that cumulative accentuation of the characteristics distinctive of the mode of life which is associated with the growth of cities..." (1938:5). Sociologist-demographer Kingsley Davis defines urbanization as "The proportion of the total population concentrated in urban settlements, or else to a rise in this proportion" (1965:41). Julian H. Steward has viewed urbanization from several points ranging from its effects on a folk culture in the Redfieldian sense to a process governed by laws, competition, or social differentiation and he states that these wide meanings allow different inter-disciplinary approaches (1950:92-3).

While some social scientists such as the above use urbanization in a limited or very broad way, a common meaning apparently centers around the process whereby complete societies or cultures undergo historical changes in settlement pattern, economics, demographic statistics, values, socio-religious organizations, and often subsistence patterns from non-concentrated, rural to concentrated, urban lifeways. As an example, sociologist Reissman states "Urbanization is a term we can use to denote the social transformation of societies" (1964:208). Since this term usually is applied to whole societies or is used in various ways and since no Southwestern native culture has become urbanized according to the above, another descriptive term must be found.

A better term to describe American Indians in cities and towns is urban acculturation, here defined as that part of the cultural situation of change when different peoples meet, e.g., acculturation, which relates to segments or components of rural societies resident in urban centers who become transformed by cultural influences found only in the urban centers of another society. Acculturative conditions singular to the urban milieu include the following:

1. Greater number of agents of change who represent a variety of subcultures, interest groups, or institutional components.

2. Greater accessibility to inventory of material items.

3. Greater exposure to different legal, religious, economic, and social values of the urbanized society.

4. A necessity to conform to mechanics of urban daily life, e.g., language usage, rent, utilities, cash economics, and relationships with others who are not kin.

5. Greater spectrum of behavior to observe.

6. A possible change in settlement pattern and land utilization.

7. Greater exposure to mass communication media.

Urban centers of northern Arizona as combinations of these elements thus differ from trading post, school, mission, agency community, or casual individualized contact situations in that all elements operate simultaneously in a smaller space and therefore are concentrations of people, in which cultural influences and acculturative forces are accelerated. One may use urban acculturation to discuss groups such as relocated families, groups of trainees brought to a factory, specific age groups, or tribal groups as compared to other tribal groups in cities.

Another useful concept is transculturalization defined by Hallowell as "...the process whereby individuals under a variety of circumstances are temporarily or permanently detached from one society, and come under the influence of its customs, ideas, and values to a greater or lesser degree. ...It is a phenomenon that involves the fate of persons rather than changes in socio-cultural systems" (1963:523). While Hallowell uses his concept to discuss the "Indianization" of Europeans and American Negros, it is useful in tracing the fortunes of individuals in cities and the establishment of typologies of American Indians as urban residents such as those of Hurt (1962) and Hodge (1965a). Such typologies are seriations of urban transculturalization, or the personal acculturation of individuals in urban settings.

Thus, individuals may be described in terms of transcultrualization as defined above, groups of individuals representing some type of urban-located segments of a larger rural society may be discussed in terms of urban acculturation. It would seem that in most current studies of American Indians in cities the term urbanization is used when urban acculturation is meant. The terms outlined above may be arranged in a hierarchy dependent on the numbers of persons involved; Urbanization, urban acculturation, transculturalization and urban transculturalization.

The definition of "urban areas" also varies. As Davis remarks, the demographic difference between a rural settlement and an urban settlement is often arbitrary and varies from country to country (1965:42). He states further that "urbanized area" is used in official United States statistics to mean cities of 50,000 or larger (1965:42). But in sparsely populated regions as northern Arizona cities of 10 to 25,000 certainly are urban areas, comparatively speaking. With its present population of approximately 24,500 persons, Flagstaff is the largest city in Arizona's five northern counties (Coconino, Apache, Navajo, Mohave, and Yavapai) and stands eight in population of all Arizona cities (The Arizona Daily Sun, Jan. 19, 1966). Winslow's present population is about 10,000. Each city serves large areas as centers for economic, governmental, legal, and various social functions and therefore, while each town would not be termed an urban area officially perhaps, their locations and functions make each an urban center as loosely defined and comparatively described above.

"Indian resident" is similarly loosely defined in this study. The use of an arbitrary length of time, such as six months, a year, or more than a year, is not feasible since the data will not allow fine distinctions and also because any length of time Indian families or individuals live in either town is part of the urban acculturation process. As will be seen, data exists on length of residency varying from summertime to decades and therefore an arbitrary time would be false and artificial. "Indian resident" does not mean visitations by persons for shopping, visiting or recreation; it simply means those who have lived or live in either city for any length of time.

CHAPTER 2

FLAGSTAFF AND WINSLOW: TWO NORTHERN ARIZONA COMMUNITIES

To set the stage for the following chapters, an introduction to both cities is in order (Fig. 2). As with many other western towns, Flagstaff and Winslow owe their beginning to railroad line construction and subsequent development of ranching, lumbering, and farming around suitable points along the railroad route. These activities provided an economic base which was later supplimented by tourism, national war effort, industry, and special installations such as Federal and State educational and medical units. Indian migration to such centers has occurred in the last 25 to 30 years, a period in which both towns were expanding in economics, population, and space.

In the Navajo language, Flagstaff is called *kinłani*, "Many houses" which also refers to Durango, Colorado and is used to mean "town" (Wall and Mogan 1958:40). A varient phrase is *khinłani dokoo skid biyaq*, "houses below the San Francisco Mountains" (Franciscan Fathers 1910:134). Winslow is called *beesh sinil*, "iron lying on the ground", a reference to railroad rails (Wall and Mogan 1958:17). In Hopi, Flagstaff is *nevatukwiovi*, a reference to the place where snow stays a long time (on the San Francisco Peaks) and Winslow is *homolovi*, actually the name of a ruin near Winslow which figures in Hopi clan origin legends, meaning "place of the mosquitos".

Flagstaff

With the pushing of the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad (now Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe) across northern Arizona in 1881-83, came groups of construction workers, "tent traders", and others who often remained behind the advancing railhead to homestead or start businesses. Such groups and individuals remained in the San Francisco Peaks region and established small farms, ranches, and businesses (see Kelly 1965). While no large Indian groups were displaced by this activity since the Havasupai who had ranged in the Peaks area were contained within their reservation in the 1880-1900 period, there were problems with Anglo desires for Navajo-occupied land. The land

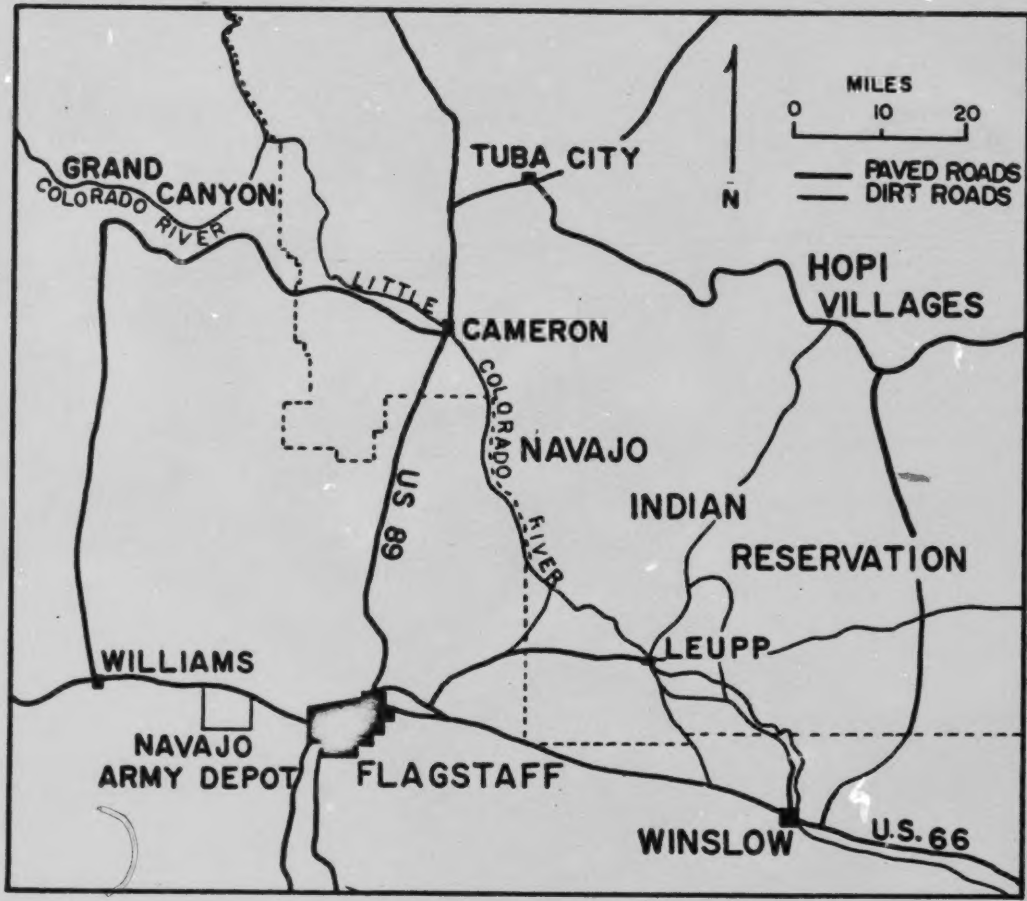
MILES
0
10
20
PAVED ROADS
DIRT ROADS
N
GRAND CANYON
COLORADO RIVER
TUBA CITY
LITTLE COLORADO RIVER
CAMERON
HOPI VILLAGES
NAVAJO INDIAN RESERVATION
US 89
LEUPP
WILLIAMS
NAVAJO ARMY DEPOT
FLAGSTAFF
WINSLOW
U.S. 66

Fig. 2: North Central Arizona and Locations of Flagstaff and Winslow, Arizona

problems and conflict between Anglo stockmen and Navajos in the Little Colorado River region in 1890 with a gun-battle between a Sherrif's posse and a group of Navajo men, resulted in two Navajo killed, one posseman killed and one wounded. Some of the Navajo were tried for cattle rustling and resisting arrest but were acquitted on selfdefense. In 1897, 16 Navajo families were forcably expelled from a large area immediately southeast of the Grand Canyon by a party of armed men from Flagstaff lead by a sherrif (Correll 1966a). The land was ultimately restored by Presidential order in 1917. Certain lands near Leupp were disputed also in this period but were included in reservation areas in 1901. (Correll 1966b). Lumbering was added to sheep, cattle, and crop raising as the economic supports of Flagstaff for the next four decades.

In the 1920's, tourism increased and has now eclipsed almost all other economic supports. Historical studies of Flagstaff include an anniversary edition of the Arizona Daily Sun in Flagstaff (March 17, 1959), an autobiography of a pioneer (Hochdereffer 1965), masters theses (Miller 1954, Euler 1949, Turley 1949, Wallace 1949, Shock 1952, Daniels 1960) and miscellaneous articles in the Museum of Northern Arizona's quarterly, Plateau.

Flagstaff lies in a Ponderosa pine forest at an elevation of 7000 feet (Fig. 3). It is a city of about 25,000 people and is physically divided east and west by a city-owned mesa and small canyon. The Santa Fe Railroad and US Highway 66 provide a line of demarcation with neighborhoods south of the highway and railroad generally called "southside". Even though the city has one government, eastern areas are commonly called East Flagstaff and there are clubs, organizations, and churches paralleling those in West Flagstaff, a name less commonly used. Various privately developed areas of Flagstaff are called by subdivision names and we have named the Guadalupe, Armory, and South San Francisco Streets neighborhoods for descriptive purposes.

Ethnic and racial distribution in Flagstaff, known in some detail from a September 1965 census, can be summarized as follows; Spanish-American: Sunnyslope, general southside areas, and scattered throughout West Flagstaff; Negro: Brannen Homes and South San Francisco Street, some scattered

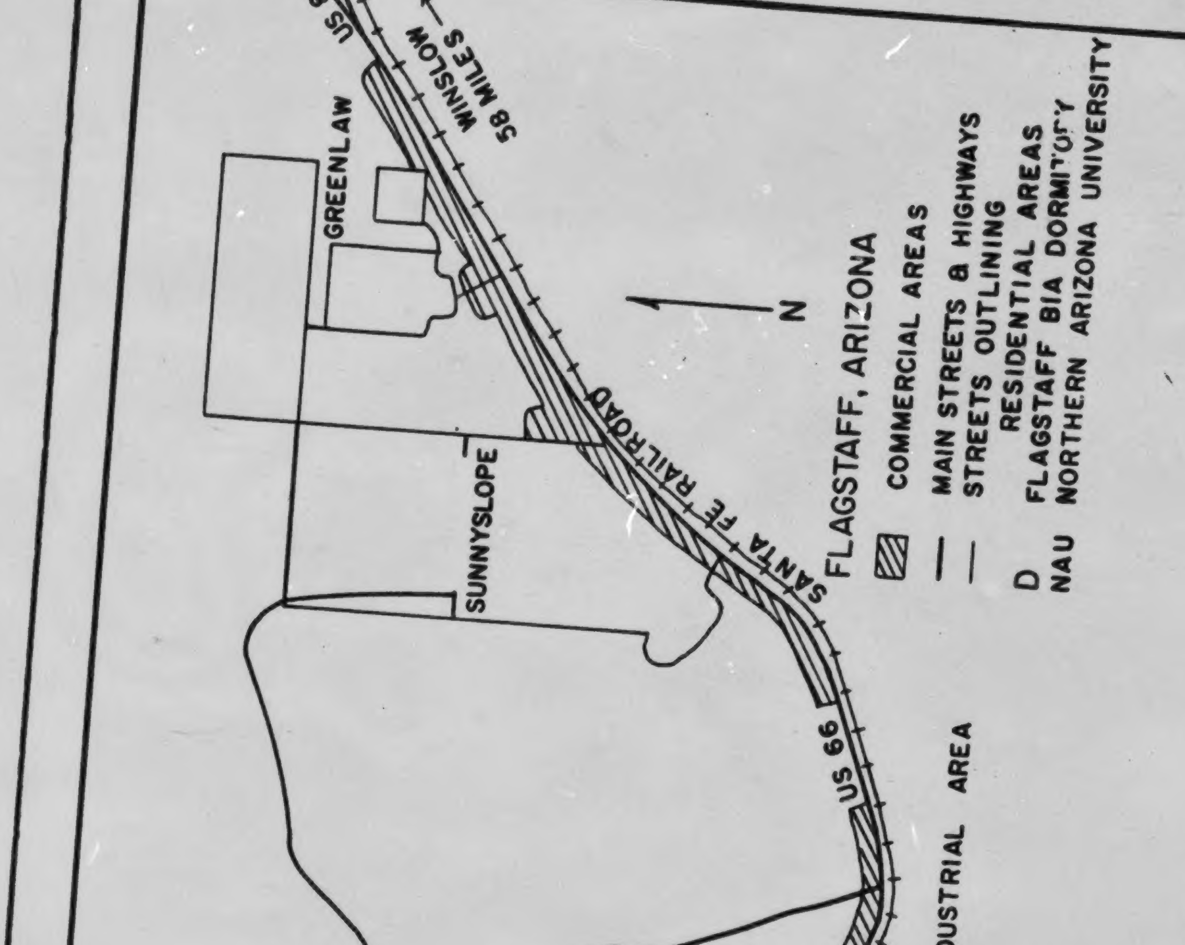
FLAGSTAFF, ARIZONA
▨ COMMERCIAL AREAS
MAIN STREETS & HIGHWAYS
STREETS OUTLINING RESIDENTIAL AREAS
D FLAGSTAFF BIA DORMITORY
NAU NORTHERN ARIZONA UNIVERSITY
N
US 89
58 MILES WINSLOW
GREENLAW
SUNNYSLOPE
SANTA FE RAILROAD
US 66
INDUSTRIAL AREA
SOUTH SAN FRANCISCO
BRANNEN HOMES
GUADLUPE
ARMORY
NAU
US 89 & 180
US 66
US 80
CLARK HOMES
D
POW WOW GROUNDS
LOWELL OBSERVATORY

Fig. 3: Flagstaff, Arizona

in Sunnyslope; American Indian: Sunnyslope, Clark Homes, Brannen Homes, general southside, few scattered in Greenlaw, Armory, and peripheral locations; Chinese-American: Central Business District and subdivisions north of the Central Business District; Anglo-Americans: throughout all areas but heaviest concentrations in Greenlaw, northern areas of West Flagstaff, and newer developing peripheral subdivisions. One indication of the linquistic and cultural composition of Flagstaff was shown by a published statement that almost half of the students in city schools are bilinguals (*The Arizona Daily Sun*, Jan. 11, 1966).

The older part of the city grew near the banks of a small stream, Rio de Flag, and presently much of West Flagstaff lies in the drainage and valley of the stream. East Flagstaff also lies on an alluvial fan below Elden Mountain and is drained by a small stream. In both sections of the city, land raises from south to north and east to west to mountain masses and mesas. City growth is hampered by Coconino National Forest Lands, city lands, or other public lands except to the east and south. Half of the present economic base is said to be composed of tourism and tourism-related sources, followed by Northern Arizona University, lumbering, governmental agency payrolls, other industries, and ranching (Chamber of Commerce information).

Flagstaff's growth in recent decades has been in an eastward direction and smaller developments toward the north and south. The annexation of large tracts caused remarkable population increases in the late 1950's and early 1960's. City growth seems assured.

Flagstaff's relations toward northern Arizona Indians began as limited trading, missionary, governmental contacts but as described above, all contacts were not friendly. The city served as base of operations and shipping point for traders, missionaries, and agents; influences emmenated from Flagstaff to the Indians, not both ways as it is doubtful if many Navajo or Hopi or other Indians visited Flagstaff prior to World War II. Possibly the most important contact of the city and nearby Indian groups has been the 4th of July Pow Wow celebration, begun in 1929. Probably no more than a few

Indian families lived in Flagstaff prior to the World War II period and contacts of Flagstaff townspeople with neighboring Indians before the war were employment in outlying ranches, visitations by missionaries, occasional attendance by Anglos at certain ceremonials, trading post purchasing, and governmental business.

Roads to the western section of the Navajo Reservation and US Highway 66 were completely paved in the 1930's. Roads to the Hopi Reservation villages were completely paved in the 1950's. The lack of roads, automobiles and trucks, and communication resulted in an attitude of Navajos, as explained by Adams for the Shonto area, that Flagstaff and other northern Arizona border towns were remote, unimportant, and largely unknown to the Shonto Navajo (1963:50). Adams states that before 1940 very few Shonto Navajo had been to Flagstaff (1963:257). With the establishment of the Navajo Army Depot (formally Navajo Ordinance Depot) in 1942, paving of roads, promise of work, increasing automotive transportation, and decreasing reliance on stock and agriculture for subsistence, Hopi and Navajo families moved to the Indian Village on the military base and to Flagstaff in sizable numbers for the first time. With this movement, the present urban pattern begins to develop.

Winslow

As with Flagstaff, Winslow was settled by railroad workers and others in the early 1880's. Ranching was the initial industry, followed by lumber and Santa Fe railroad shops. Like Flagstaff, tourism began to become important to Winslow economy in the 1930's, but unlike Flagstaff, railroad employment have been a prime economic stimulus. Winslow is a division headquarters for the Santa Fe which provides employment for many residents. It is a town of about 10,000 and is at an elevation of 4856 feet (Fig. 4). The city is in the valley of the Little Colorado River which flows northward east of the city. The environment is rolling semi-arid alluvial river terraces, sandstone outcrops, and is relatively treeless. The city is nearly at the same elevation in all neighborhoods but the land raises slightly to the northwest. To the north, the Hopi

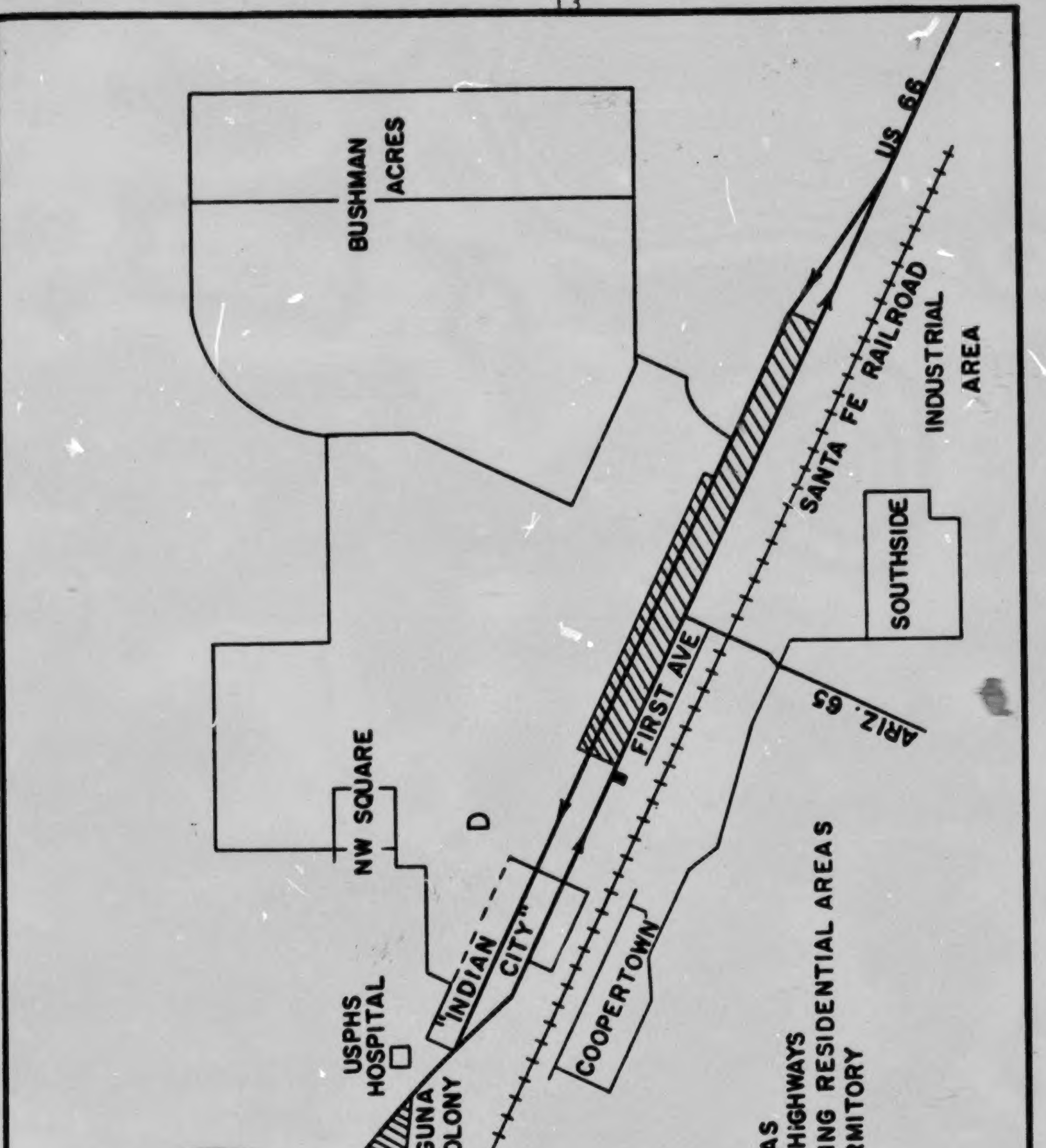
WINSLOW, ARIZONA
▨ COMMERICAL AREAS
MAIN STREETS & HIGHWAYS
STREETS OUTLINING RESIDENTIAL AREAS
D WINSLOW BIA DORMITORY
■ INDIAN CENTER
N
DESERT VIEW
LAGUNA COLONY
USPHS HOSPITAL
"INDIAN CITY"
NW SQUARE
D
COOPERTOWN
FIRST AVE
ARIZ. 65
SOUTHSIDE
SANTA FE RAILROAD
INDUSTRIAL AREA
US 66
BUSHMAN ACRES

Fig. 4: Winslow, Arizona

Buttes and Mesas can be seen. To the south, the topography becomes rolling, forested, and higher elevation. The city is not divided by any landform but like Flagstaff Highway 66 and Santa Fe Railroad serves to separate the small "Southside" neighborhoods from the rest of the city. These southside neighborhoods are smaller than those of Flagstaff, are close to lumber mills, and some land is owned by the Santa Fe. Unlike Flagstaff, Winslow contains the enclaved Laguna Colony as an Indian component in pre-World War II years. About 30 Laguna families were brought to Winslow in 1922 to work in railroad round house shops and were housed in converted boxcar homes on railroad property. Now most do not work for the Santa Fe company but remain in boxcar homes. There has been some intermarriage of Lagunas, Hopis, and Navajos.

Winslow is closer to Reservation boundaries than Flagstaff. North of Winslow, the Navajo Reservation boundary is 15 miles away, the Hopi Mesas 60 miles, but roads are only paved short distances from city limits. It may be assumed that shorter distances to an Anglo center results in greater and more sustained contact between the Hopi, Navajo, and Winslow towndwellers. Winslow serves as a base for missionary and church-related activity and traders as does Flagstaff.

Distribution of ethnic and racial components of Winslow's population is gained from city directories, and field observations. Spanish-speakers live in "southside" locations as do some Negro and Indian families, but many Indian and Spanish-Americans live in the western end of town, near the Bureau of Indian Affairs Winslow Dormitory and the junction of the east and west-bound lanes of US 66. This general areas is known locally as "Indian City". Chinese-Americans are scattered but generally are near the business district and eastern part of town. English speakers are most heavily represented in the northern half of the major residential area and in the newer Desert View subdivision. City growth has been to the north, northwest, and to the east somewhat. A United States Public Health Service Indian Hospital was built in 1929 and the Bureau of Indian Affairs Dormitory opened in 1956. Both are on the western side of the city, near centers of Indian population. Winslow has a city-sponsored Indian Center begun in 1960 which is located halfway between the Indian City neighborhood and the Central Business District.

While Winslow apparently did not feel the national war effort as strongly as Flagstaff with the Navajo Army Depot, Winslow's economy was affected by increased railroad traffic and the later installation of a radar guidance system station ten miles west of town, now a Job Corps Center. Unfortunately, there is less detailed information available on Winslow history, population growth and composition, and the development of the Indian resident components. Probably the growth of the Indian City neighborhood began during World War II since the Santa Fe round house is nearby as is the Indian Hospital. The neighborhood continued to increase due to the construction of the dormitory in the 1950's.

As it may be seen from the above description, Flagstaff and Winslow are different in size, environment, distance to and from reservation population centers, and in available data. Other differences are in activities developed for Indians- Flagstaff's Pow Wow and Winslow's Indian Center (both are described below) and the intercity distribution of Indian residents. Both towns have Federal agencies which provide employment for Indian residents. Both towns have low-cost housing development as well as poorer housing, and similar economic supports of tourism, lumber, ranching, and other industries. From each town, missionaries, traders, tourists, and others enter Reservation lands and while contacts have varied from person to person and event to event, in general, contacts from town dwellers have been friendly and conductive to receptive culture change situations.

Changing Demography of Flagstaff, Winslow, & Surrounding Regions

It may be assumed that expanding reservation populations would result in considerable population movement off reservation via relocation programs, self-relocation on a temporary or permanent basis, or seasonal migration. It may be postulated that such movements may result in enclaved groups in towns, poor "south of the tracks" living conditions, or ghettos. As will be seen below, movement of reservation dwellers seems to have tapered off in Flagstaff and Winslow since 1960 and that differing patterns of urban settlement in each town has resulted from various factors. Unfortunately, for many demographic facets of reservation or town growth no data are available and therefore certain topics are not discussed.

We are interested in three aspects of local demography; gross population of persons classified by the Census Bureau as American Indians in urban as well as reservation areas, the composition of the population in each town, and the distribution of those populations in each town. Sources of data include official Census Bureau reports and maps, commercially published city directories which include names, addresses, occupations, and often family size of residents, and miscellaneous sources such as telephone directories, newspaper articles, informant data, and field observations. Each source has limitations. Census Bureau reports may be slightly erroneous since the local enumerator makes judgements of ethnic-racial classification. City directories are uneven in coverage (see Goldstein 1954 and Baur 1955), are made only every two or three years, and are not as accurate in collection techniques as official census methods. Only those persons with recognizable Indian names were recorded from the directories and some of the following statements are based on this sample. A check on the numbers of persons missed was made by comparing the 1960 Flagstaff Indian population with the number of individuals with Indian names recorded from a 1961 Flagstaff directory. It was determined that we had recorded information on 41% of the total Indian population for that time. It thought that this sample, albeit not random or perhaps not consistent through the 1950-1965 period is none-the-less probably typical and valid. Apparently many more Navajo have Anglo names and therefore more Navajo were missed than Hopi residents. For the purpose of the survey, the limitations of demographic data sources do not preclude reasonable accuracy of statistics, settlement patterns, and conclusions. Appendix D lists commericial city directories utilized in the study.

GROSS POPULATION STATISTICS

TABLE I

POPULATIONS OF THREE NORTHERN ARIZONA COUNTIES

	Coconino		Navajo		Apache	
	1950	1960	1950	1960	1950	1960
White	15233	25660	14407	17878	6735	6835
Indian	7898	11668	14613	19324	20267	22814
Negro	719	1192	374	744	759	774
Other	60	107	52	108	6	15
Total	23910	38533	29446	38054	27767	30438
% Non-white	36.2	30.0	51.0	53.0	75.2	77.5
% Indian	33.0	30.0	49.5	50.5	72.9	74.9
1966 Total	49,000		45,000		37,000	

Table 1 shows the composition of three northern Arizona counties which comprise the northeast quarter of Arizona, including all the Navajo, Hopi, and Havasupai Reservations (in Arizona) and large segments of the Fort Apache and Hulapai Reservations. In Apache and Navajo counties, the percent of Indian population of the total has increased slightly over the 1950-1960 period as did the non-white segment. In Coconino County, however, the white (including Spanish-American) population has increased faster than in the other two counties and the percent of Indian and non-white has decreased even though actual figures increased during the decade. Recent figures for the Navajo, Hopi, and Havasupai Reservations are 52,207 Navajo (Arizona only), 4,270 Hopi, and 186 Havasupai (1965 Annual Report of the Arizona Commission of Indian Affairs). The Navajo population is the most rapidly expanding and is said to average 4.0% increase each year (Young 1961:321). Flagstaff's Indian population has increased 5.3% from 1960 to 1965.

TABLE 2

FLAGSTAFF AND WINSLOW POPULATION COMPOSITION

	Flagstaff 1950	Flagstaff 1960	Flagstaff 1965	Winslow 1960
White	6817	14,470	22,665	7567
Indian	275*	655	692	ca. 800
Negro	667	1011	1128	466
Other	101	95	107	ca. 50
% Indian	ca. 3.4	3.6	2.8	ca. 9.0
% Non-white	11.1	9.7	7.8	ca. 14.0
Total	7663	18,214	24,592	8862

*Unofficial figure

Table 2 shows the composition of Flagstaff and Winslow populations and the percent of non-whites and Indian of the total. Consistent with the Coconino County figures, the Flagstaff non-white and Indian percent continues to drop even though actual numbers increase. Fig. 5 illustrates population curves for Flagstaff, Bellemont Indian Village near the Navajo Army Depot, and Winslow. Many more people lived at the Indian Village during the early 1950's than lived in Flagstaff but with the end of the Korean War and reductions in work force, part of the village was phased out and families returned to the Reservation or moved to Flagstaff. Thus, Flagstaff's in-town Indian population grew steadily from the early 1950's. Winslow's Indian population has also grown since 1950 but supporting data are tenuous. Undoubtedly there were fluctuations of some magnitude at all three locations but the data do not express them. A slowly increasing population for Flagstaff of roughly 700 is indicated and an Indian population for Winslow of around 800 is interpolated.

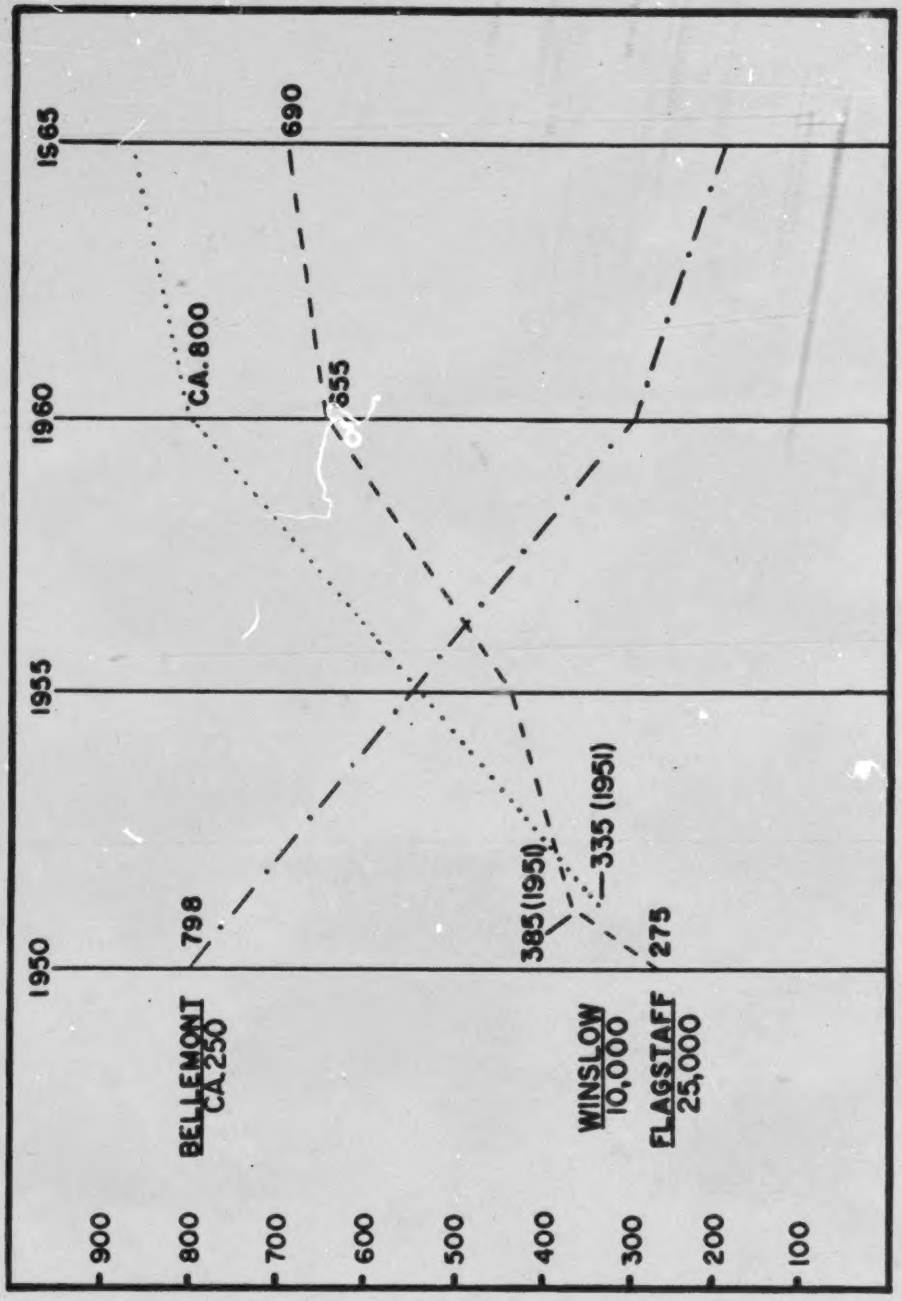

Fig. 5: Growth of Indian population in Flagstaff, Winslow, and Indian Village at Bellemont. Present population is beneath community name. Curves are interpolated except where actual figure is shown. Sources; Lautzenheiser and others 1952; Cadman and others 1952, Bureau of Census.

Composition of Flagstaff and Winslow Indian Populations

Male-female ratio figures are only available for Flagstaff from the 1960 to 1965 census data. The percent of males has continued to drop in favor of females since 1960 (49% males in 1960 to 47% males in 1965). If there were a predominence of male workers, single or married, the percent would be opposite than what exists. Table 3 indicates average family size as derived from directories for Hopi and Navajo families in Flagstaff, Bellemont Village, and Winslow. Even though the source of data is admittedly tenuous, one is impressed with the gradual drop in Hopi family size and the more-or-less consistent pattern of Navajo families. At best, data on urban family size seems to indicate a smaller average than reservation dwelling families. Persons per home (hogan) in the Many Farms area average 5.6 persons (Loughlin 1961:114) while persons per home in Fort Defiance, an Anglo-founded agency community, is the same (Bosch 1961:13). An analysis of 1960 Navajo Reservation census data indicates a reservation-wide average family size of 5.0 to 5.9 persons (Hillery and Essene 1963:304). Hopi and Hopi-Tewa families are composed of at least several persons but the number varies from time to time (Dozier 1966:40). Tribal composition in Flagstaff during 1950 and 1960 as derived from a comparison of directories for those years and census data indicates approximately 60% of the 1950 Indian population were Navajo, about 40% were Hopi, and 10% were other tribes as opposed to approximately 50% Navajo, 30% Hopi, and 30% other tribes in 1960. Presently other tribes represented in Flagstaff are Sioux, Apache, Tlingit, Paiute, Tewa, Hualapai, and Eskimo in varying numbers. One may assume a similar tribal composition for Winslow except that the Laguna Colony, numbering about 100 individuals, has been in Winslow for many years. The recent increase in persons of other tribes is unexplained, but Bureau of Indian Affairs employment may be a factor.

TABLE 3

FAMILY SIZE OF INDIAN URBAN RESIDENTS

	1951	1958	1960	1963
Flagstaff				
Hopi	5.4	4.5	3.7	nd
Navajo	4.3	4.4	4.4	nd
Bellemont				
Hopi	5.4	nd	nd	nd
Navajo	5.4	4.3	nd	nd
Winslow				
Hopi	5.6	nd	nd	4.7
Navajo	4.4	nd	nd	4.4

nd; no data

CHAPTER 3

HOUSING

Certainly it must be true that the presence or absence of adequate shelter affects Indian resident attitudes and adjustment to urban life. Available data on Indian-occupied housing in Flagstaff, Winslow, and Bellemont Indian Village may be discussed in terms of city-operated units, privately owned housing, Indian renter-owner ratios, and general conditions.

Flagstaff - Clark Homes

Clark Homes consists of 178 one to four bedroom frame units which are grouped into long, one story buildings of three to five units each. These buildings are arranged in parallel lines with small yards between each building (Fig. 6, A). The buildings were assembled by the Federal Government in 1940 to house Navajo Army Depot personnel but were turned over to the Flagstaff Housing Authority in 1945. The units are maintained by the city, are thoroughly cleaned when a tenant leaves, and are kept in good repair. Rents vary from $42.00 per month for a one bedroom unfurnished unit to $75.00 per month for a four bedroom furnished apartment. All utilities except water are paid by tenants. Qualifications for renting Clark Homes units are based on income (maximum of $4,800 per family per year) plus $600.00 for each dependent. During the summer of 1965, seven Indian families occupied units. All other tenants were Spanish-Americans or Anglos. The length of residence for Indian tenants varied from a year and a half to twelve years, but most families have been in Clark Homes for at least two to three years. Most families have their own furniture which is of average quality, including refrigerator, but stoves are furnished. Many family heads work for the Navajo Army Depot as ammunition inspectors, painters, or laborers while wives or self-supporting women work as hospital nurses' aides or BIA Dormitory attendents and aides.

Flagstaff - Brannen Homes

Built between 1952 and 1961 with Federal monies, Brannen Homes consists of seperate one to four bedroom brick or frame homes and contiguous brick apartments arranged along curving streets. There are 127 units containing five Navajo families, one Hopi family, one Hopi-Spanish-American family, sixty-six Negro families, and fifty-five Spanish-American or Anglo families. Basic rents are from $22.00 per month for a one bedroom to $35.00 per month for a four bedroom unit plus from 20% to 25% of net wage. All units are unfurnished, but have water heater, gas stove, and refrigerator. Water and gas bills are mostly paid by the Housing Authority. Qualifications are lower for renters in Brannen Homes than in Clark Homes; not more tham $3,000.00 for a family of three persons to not more than $3,800.00 per year for a family of five or more. Indian tenants have resided in Brannen Homes from one to twelve years or for five years on average. Of the six family heads, two were college students, one was on welfare and pension, one was employed by Northern Arizona University, one was auto parts stockman, and one a missionary.

These two low cost housing projects are managed by the Flagstaff Housing Authority who handles all records, leases, and other mechanics. Printed lists of rules are given each tenant but common violations are pets and extra relatives as boarders, In general, Housing Authority personnel believe Indian families are good tenants and the length of residence in both developments seems to support this observation as well as tenant satisfaction. Each area provides adequate housing at low rent for lower income families and such housing is undoubtedly attractive to many families contemplating a move to Flagstaff from a reservation homes.

Winslow - Northwest Square

Built in 1957, Northwest Square is composed of cinder block, two to four bedroom duplexes and double duplexes which are painted pastel colors and arranged along straight streets. It is operated by the Public Housing Administration through the Winslow Housing Authority. The development is composed of 30 units occupied by eight Navajo families, one Hopi family, 15 Spanish-American families, and the remainder are Negro or Anglo families. As with Clark and Brannen Homes, admittance is based on need and limited income which may range from $3,000.00 for two persons to $3,800.00 for a

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family of five or more but may rise to a maximum of $4,750.00 per year. Rents are from $30.00 per month for two bedroom to $38.00 per month for a four bedroom unit occupied by non-welfare families. The tenants and the Authority divide utility payments according to amount of use. Units are not furnished. The Indian tenants, mostly Navajo, are employed as hospital or nursing home aides, store clerks, or laborers and have not lived in the development long. Housing Authority personnel state that Indian families as tenants are no different from other families and generally are good renters.

All three city housing projects are on the periphery of each town, are composed of several ethnic and racial groups because of Federal policies although actual numbers are often uneven, and are relatively new developments. Indian tenants are viewed as average renters, presenting no special problems such as drunkedness and many have stayed in the projects for at least several years. While at any given time only a fraction of Indian residents reside in these units, the existence of them is attractive to newcomers and provides initial suitable housing if vacancies exist.

Bellemont - Navajo Army Depot - "Indian Village"

To house large numbers of Indian employees during World War II, the Federal Government built an "Indian Village" of hogan-like houses and other buildings, including a gymnasium, recreation building, and a church on Depot grounds, near the settlement of Bellemont (see Lautzenheiser and others 1952 for a general description). These houses were rented to Indian workers for a small sum but with the end of the war, some of the units were dismantled. In 1953, about 100 prefabricated frame houses were moved to the Depot for the Indian employees who had remained. These were two bedroom units with a bath and a combination kitchen-living room. At present, 37 of these units remain and are occupied by 34 Indian families, 1 Spanish-American family, and 1 Anglo family. The units are painted in pastel colors and rent for $43.00 a month with approximately ten dollars of the rent for utilities. Maintenance is handled by the Depot Buildings and Grounds office. The present policy is to phase out the Indian Village and therefore those families will have to seek housing in Flagstaff. As with governmentally sponsored housing developments in Flagstaff, the "Indian Village" near Bellemont provided suitable housing for Depot employees at low cost and was attractive to Indian families.

Privately Owned Housing

While city-run housing projects are utilized by many Indian families, most of them occupy privately owned units, either as owners or renters. Renting families of course comprise a majority and many are Navajo or some non-pueblo group.

Rents

In Flagstaff, Indian residents pay high rents as do other townspeople since all rents seem above normal in the city. Rents for Indian-occupied contiguous apartments such as shown in Fig. 6,C and Fig. 7,B vary from $35.00 per month for quite substandard, two room units to $60.00 or $70.00 per month for adequate but plain, two to four room apartments. City directory information reveals that such apartment complexes in the Armory, Guadalupe, South San Francisco neighborhoods, and newer complexes in the Sunnyslope area have been popular rentals for years. Often several Indian families, usually related Navajo families, will be found in such units. Non-contiguous cabin-like houses, usually one to three rooms, as shown in Fig. 7, rent from a few dollars a month to $60.00 per month and vary in quality.

Frame houses, shown in Fig. 6,B and Fig. 7,D rent for $60.00 to $75.00 per month, excluding utilities and are usually four rooms. Property owners who rent apartments, cabins, or frame houses to Indian families are Spanish-Americans for the most part, but Anglos also rent units to Indian tenants. Almost no trailers are occupied by Indian families. There exists an opinion among some landlords that Indian families are not good tenants and as a result, some landlords are openly discriminatory. It was said by one Anglo observer that high rents paid by Indian tenants are often offset by additional relatives moving in once a rental has been found.

In Winslow, rents seem less but quality of housing is generally lower. Again, many units occupied by Indians are owned by Spanish-Americans and some prominent Anglo landowners, partially in the "Indian City" neighborhoods.

Indian Owner-Renter Ratios

From city directories, informant data, and Census Bureau information, it can be determined that many more Hopi families own their own houses than do Navajo families. The 1965 Flagstaff City Directory reveals that about 28% of recognized Hopi families own their homes, while only 13% of recognized Navajo families are owners. Most of the Indian home owners of either group live in the general East Flagstaff area. A 1963 Winslow directory shows that 52% of recognized Hopi families are owners while 13% of recorded Navajo families are owners.

The area distribution of non-white owner-occupied housing for Flagstaff in 1960 as shown by Bureau of the Census data parallels directory information closely. In Greenlaw and Sunnyslope, where the Indian population accounted for .9% and 5.3% of the population in each area respectively, non-white owner-occupied housing was above 75%. For both areas, non-white renter-occupied varies from none in Greenlaw to 28% in Sunnyslope. Since there are very few Negros, Chinese-Americans or Japanese-Americans in these neighborhoods, the figures accurately reflect the relative ratios of Indian owned versus Indian rented units. The Armory and South San Francisco areas, on the other hand, contain a higher percent of Indian residents than other neighborhoods and a much higher renter-occupied figure for non-whites, including Indians. Unfortunately, detailed information such as the above does not exist for Winslow as yet.

General Conditions

As one drives through Indian-occupied neighborhoods of both towns, impressions are formed that can be supported by Census Bureau and informant data. There seems to be few Indian-occupied units without electricity or inside plumbing.

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Such housing may be found, however, in Winslow's Southside region and in the peripheral areas around Flagstaff (see Fig. 7,A and Fig. 8,A) but nearby buildings may have these utilities. The utilization of city water, gas, and electricity is common but other aspects of housing are equally important in determining conditions. In general, Indian occupied housing in Flagstaff may be ranked from the substandard, deteriorating, crowded, and unhealthy units in the Armory neighborhood to the sound, well-maintained, and healthy homes in Greenlaw and Sunnyslope. Census Bureau data from 1960 show that 58% of non-white occupied units in the Armory area are deteriorated and 25% of non-white occupied houses are delapidated. The Indian population accounts for about 75% of all non-white housing units in the Armory neighborhood. In Greenlaw and Sunnyslope, all non-white units are classified as sound, nearly all of which are Indian-occupied. It may be remembered that standards of living conditions are relative and that standards used by the Census Bureau are national averages.

In Winslow, the Southside region contains poor housing for Indian, Spanish-American, and Negro families. While there are a few pleasant-looking homes, many are delapidated, dirty, and generally unhealthy places. Housing seems better in the Indian City neighborhoods, probably classifiable as sound or deteriorated.

While no city-wide figures on persons per room for either town were derived, it may be safely assumed that the figure is considerably higher for Indian families than for Anglo homes except in the governmentally sponsored developments. In each town, a growing number of Indian families in the higher education, employment, and salary levels are living in self-owned or rented homes in Anglo neighborhoods.

At present, conditions of Indian-occupied housing varies, but seems to be improving slowly with the continuing utilization of city-run developments, the increase in Indian-owned homes, and the opening of subdivisions. There are quite substandard houses rented by Indian families in both towns of course, but one may find nearly as many adequate or sound homes as delapidated units.

CHAPTER 4

ECONOMIC FACTORS AND EMPLOYMENT PATTERNS

The study of employment patterns of Indian residents in Flagstaff and Winslow and the economic impact of these Indians upon the two communities as well as reservation impact was accomplished through personal interviews of employers and merchants, mailed questionnaires, and comparative studies of city directories published for the two cities. Data obtained from these sources give a view of the employment trends and general economic interaction between Indians and these Anglo communities.

Flagstaff

As northern Arizona's major trade center, Flagstaff is the hub of tourist activities along a major Federal highway and is a mill town for timbering operations in the region. In recent years it has also become a center for education and scientific research with growing Northern Arizona University, the Museum of Northern Arizona, several astronomical observatories, and other research organizations located there. The Navajo Army Depot, E-Z Mills, a garment manufacturer, and the many service establishments are also of major importance to the city's economy.

Winslow

Division headquarters for the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railway Company, Winslow's economy has centered around the railroad. The city's three sawmills, cattle ranching, farming, and twenty-two motels and hotels also contribute to the city's economy. Attempts to develop large-scale tourism have been largely unsuccessful except for the annual "Snake dance caravan" to the Hopi mesas. The Indian Dormitory and the Bureau of Indian Affairs Hospital are important sources of income for Indian residents of the city.

Employment Patterns - Flagstaff

Flagstaff Indian residents are employed in a variety of occupations and trades ranging from management and technical jobs to unskilled day labor. The Navajo Ordinance Depot remains the largest single employer. E-Z Mills, the large Babbitt Ranches of the area and the BIA Indian Dormitory, each have over 15 Indian employees. Ponderosa Paper Products, Coconino National Forest, and several motels, super markets, and construction companies hire, with seasonal fluctuations, about five Indian employees each. The Museum of Northern Arizona, Northern Arizona University, the City of Flagstaff, Arizona Highway Department, stores, gas stations and small contractors each employ between two and five Indians regularly.

The majority of jobs filled by Indian residents of Flagstaff are in the lower income range of $2,000-4,000 per annum, but some individuals have salaries exceeding $9,000 per annum. Length of employment varies considerably from decades to less than a month in seasonal occupations. Hopi Indians generally remain at one job for longer periods than do the Navajo but there were several exceptions at NAD. Employment trends were studied by plotting all jobs reported for Indian residents in Flagstaff City Directories for the years of 1948-49, 1955, 1958, 1961, 1963, and 1965 and Winslow directories for the years 1958 and 1963.

Employment Patterns - Winslow

Winslow Indian residents are not employed in as wide a range of jobs as are Indian residents of Flagstaff. The largest single employer in Winslow is the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railway Company, with approximately 100 Indian employees. The AT&SF is followed by the BIA Indian Hospital with 42 Indian employees and the BIA Indian Dormitory with 26 Indian employees. Duke City Lumber Company, and Nagel Lumber Company each employ a few Indian laborers as do various small building contractors. A few restaurants and motels hire Indian maids and kitchen help. The Winslow Memorial Hospital employs one Indian nurse and three Indian nurses' aides.

Information on individual income was impossible to obtain directly in Winslow. Base pay scales, however, are probably comparable to those in Flagstaff. Officials of the AT&SF explained that the Lagunas and Hopi were very important during the steam era as skilled mechanics and machinists but now many have transferred to Barstow, California where the new turbine overhaul shops are located.

The BIA Indian Hospital employs Indians as kitchen helpers, maintenance men, supply clerks, stenographers, and nurses' aides. Many have stayed with the BIA for more than 20 years. One obvious reason for the high percentage of Indians working for the BIA is the Bureau's Indian preference hiring policy. The Winslow Indian Dormitory employs Indians in several jobs including maintenance men, cooks, kitchen helpers, instructional aides, teachers, and one guidance counselor. Duke City Lumber Company employs seven Navajos, some of whom are related. The jobs range from sawmill laborer at $1.91 per hour to contract sawyer at $2.50 per hour.

Motel Study - Flagstaff and Winslow

Questionnaires were sent to all 63 motels and hotels in Flagstaff. Twenty-two replied, giving about a 35% coverage. Of those replying, twelve stated that they employed Indians with a total of fifteen Indians employees reported. Most of the motels that employed Indians were small. Pay varied from $1.00 per hour to $1.50 per hour, and from $30.00 per week to $80.00 per week. From this limited information, perhaps we can say that approximately 55% of the motels in Flagstaff hire Indian help, usually one or two persons, and that wages vary considerably for the thirty to forty Indian residents so employed.

Questionnaires were also sent to the twenty-two motels and hotels in Winslow; six replied, resulting in about a 27% coverage. Two respondents stated that they employed Indians with a total of three Indian employees. Pay was reported as $1.00 per hour and $42.00 per week, which is comparable to that reported in Flagstaff. We can estimate that approximately 33% of the motels and hotels in Winslow hire Indian help.

Of the motels reporting Indian employees, four of those in Flagstaff and both of the Winslow motels mentioned problems of unexcused absences. All motels reporting Indian employees also reported that they had Indian guests especially during Pow Wow time, indicating a certain amount of economic reciprocity.

During this survey, a general strike was in progress among construction trade unions. There was widespread unemployment in this industry. It was, however, possible to interview a few union officials about their Indian members. One or two Indians were members of all Unions consulted, with the exception of the Laborers' Union, which had slightly over 70 Indian members. Many of these members had been working on reservation construction jobs where a certain percentage of Indian employees is required by tribal contract. The union scale for laborers ranges from $3.29 to $3.90 per hour.

The U. S. Forest Service Personnel Supervisor for Coconino National Forest was also interviewed. It was stated that while 1200 to 1400 Indian firefighters are dispatched from Coconino National Forest in an average year, they are all from the Reservations. This type of seasonal employment serves the Navajo and Hopi living pattern well, but is of little importance to Indian residents of Flagstaff and Winslow. There are three Hopi men who are permanent employees of Coconino National Forest and two of these live in Flagstaff.

Occupation Changes

In summary of the occupational changes that have ocurred in Flagstaff and Winslow, there has been a gradual increase in professional jobs in both towns. Increases were noted in professional occupations such as engineers, missionaries, teachers, and social workers since 1960; in commercial jobs as store clerks or house to house salesmen since 1960; in service jobs as domestics, waitress, and kitchen help of about 30%; about 25% in building trades since about 1958, and a slight increase in Forest Service employment, with three fire guard and office jobs held since 1960.

Navajo Army Depot jobs have remained fairly stable since 1958. During World War II and the Korean war, great numbers of Indians were employed, but the number was reduced in the late 1950's. BIA Indian Dormitory jobs have also remained fairly stable since opening in 1958. Craft workers have decreased since 1958. Now only a few Hopi supplement income with part time craft work and probably no Navajo craftsmen live in either town. There has also been a decrease in railroad jobs with AT&SF, with only a few employees left in Flagstaff. In Flagstaff and Winslow, the Hopi seem to be mainly in technical, maintenance, and service jobs while the Navajo hold a greater variety of jobs with several professional people and many more unskilled seasonal workers.

Employer Attitudes

Anglo opinions toward Indian workers usually range from "hard working" to "unreliable". This is especially true of motel and construction employers. Generally, employers treat Indian employees "like everybody else"; in fact, several employers interviewed found it hard to estimate the number of Indians employed by them because they were not sure just who was Indian. A more favorable attitude towards professional, skilled, and semi-skilled Indian employees exists, particularly toward Hopi workers.

Economic Impact - Flagstaff and Winslow

To gain some insight into the economic impact of Indian residents of Flagstaff and Winslow, it was necessary to interview Anglo businessmen in key businesses in each city. Supermarkets, auto dealerships, loan companies, and trading companies were selected as being important indicators of Indian consumer volume.

Percentages of estimates of total trade with Indian customers varied from five to thirty percent among the supermarkets of both cities. The percent of trade with local Indians ranged much higher in Winslow than in Flagstaff (see Tables 5 and 6). This is due, at least in part, to the most common complaint of Winslow merchants; the condition of the unpaved roads between the reservations and Winslow. This is believed to cause many reservation Indians to travel a greater distance on paved roads to shop at stores in Flagstaff. The automobile dealers of both cities, on the other hand, agree that less than 25% of their Indian customers are local. The number of auto dealerships functioning in these small cities give some indication of the importance of reservation purchasing to bordertown merchants (see Tables 7 and 8). The estimated total volume of automotive sales alone exceeds a half million dollars in each city.

TABLE 4

WINSLOW SUPERMARKET INDIAN TRADE

Store	Percent of trade that is Indian	Percent of Indian trade is local Indian	Seasonal Fluctuation	Hire Indian Help
A	15%	90%	yes - roads*	yes
B	5 - 10%	50%	nd	no
C	20 - 30%	50%	yes - roads	yes
D	5 - 10%	75%	no	yes

* Depending on Road Conditions

nd: no data

TABLE 5

FLAGSTAFF SUPERMARKET INDIAN TRADE

Store	Percent of trade that is Indian	Percent of Indian trade is local Indian	Pow Wow Increase	Hire Indian Help
A	10 - 15%	5 - 10%	yes, some	yes
*B	10%	probably 1%	up to 50%	yes
C	less than 1%	none	little	no
*D	25%	15%	to 50%	yes
**E	5 - 10%	1%	yes, considerable	yes
F	10 - 15%	6%	yes, some	yes

* nearest to Pow Wow Grounds

** within sight of Pow Wow grounds and had watermelon sale same weekend.

TABLE 6

WINSLOW AUTOMOBILE SALES TO INDIANS

Dealer	Percent of Sales to Indians	Types of Sales	Approximate Annual Volume to Indian Buyers
A	50%	75 units; used	$ 70,000
B	?	6 units; total	4,000
C	18 - 25%	105 units; used	55,000
		45 units; new	140,000
D	?	4 units; total	12,000
E	25%	15 units; total	45,000
F	?	50 units; used	30,000
		50 units; new	150,000
G	10%	15 units; used	10,000
		20 units; new	60,000
			$ 576,000

TABLE 7

FLAGSTAFF AUTOMOBILE SALES TO INDIANS

Dealer	Percent of Sales to Indians	Types of Sales	Approximate Annual Volume to Indian Buyers
A	15%	new	$ 144,000
	40%	used	60,000
B	5%	total	144,000
C	10%	total	60,000
D	no estimate		10,000
E	no estimate		10,000
F	no estimate		repair 3,600
		used	20,000
			$ 551,000

Trading companies in Flagstaff and Winslow estimated that Indian trade constituted from 10% to 60% of their total business and that the majority of that trade was from the reservation rather than from local residents. Home furnishings, hardware, farm equipment, firearms and appliances are the major items sold to Indians. Handicrafted rugs, silverwork, baskets, and kachinas are bought from Indians as well as wool, hides, and sheep. All traders agreed that Indian trade was an important part of local economy.

Loan company managers interviewed estimated that Indian trade comprised from 20% to 50% of their respective totals. The average size of loan made to Indians was about $600.00 per year, usually for debt consolidation, autos, school clothes, or furniture. There is a noticable increase in loans to Indians in mid-winter. In Winslow, the majority of loans were made to Indians from the reservation. In Flagstaff, most loans were made to Indian residents except during Pow Wow. All managers interviewed agreed that loans to Indians from the reservation were high risks and had established several restrictions including age, credit record, and type of work. Hopi individuals were felt to be better customers even though there were fewer of them.

By counting individuals with Indian names listed in the 1965 Flagstaff City Directory and comparing this figure with all Indians listed as home owners, it was estimated that 23% of Indian residents of Flagstaff were home owners. By separating these names into Hopi and Navajo lists, it was found that 13% of the Navajo families recorded were home owners while 28% of the Hopi families were owners. This type of data was unavailable for Winslow, no directory having been published in that year.

While the economic impact of Indian residents in the communities of Flagstaff and Winslow remains a small portion of the total, the importance of trade with Indians living on the large reservations in the area is great and is growing in importance. With the development of proposed industries upon reservations lands, the percentage of income derived from reservations sources will increase in both Flagstaff and Winslow. The large Indian reservations nearby also act to promote tourism in the area, especially during the Pow Wow and the Snake-Dance periods. This economic potential is well understood by many local businessmen who sometimes refer to the reservation area as a "sleeping giant".

CHAPTER 5

INDIAN RESIDENTS' PARTICIPATION IN URBAN LIFE

The degree of participation by Indian residents in social, religious, economic, and political activities of Flagstaff and Winslow indicates the involvement of these people in urban life. For this discussion, such activities are subdivided into city or government sponsored events, institution sponsored activities, and groups with special purposes. Events and programs organized by city or other local governments include recreation, special city-wide events, and other programs such as welfare, surplus commodity distribution, and city housing (see Chapter 3). Institutional activities include school-connected events, church participation, and activities of cultural, education, or social service non-governmental institutions. Special groups include labor unions, political parties, service clubs, and self-help organizations. Attitudes of Indian residents toward town life and of townspeople toward their Indian fellow citizens are included in this discussion also. Evidence of Indian resident participation in each subdivision and attitudes are described below.

CITY AND GOVERNMENTAL SPONSORED ACTIVITIES

Recreation

Participation in Flagstaff's recreation program is largely limited to Dormitory children who enjoy basketball and playground sports. Few if any in-town adults or children engage in recreational program but do utilize neighborhood school playgrounds. Adult activities, such as sewing classes, are occasionally joined by Indian tenants of Clark and Brannen Homes. Winslow has fewer recreation activities and Indian residents' participation seems negligible except for playground utilization. One Winslow Indian resident noted the lack of facilities and believed that Indian townspeople would enjoy recreation activities.

Winslow's Indian Center

The Indian Center in Winslow was begun by Junior Women's Club volunteers and others in the fall of 1960. In 1961, the Center became incorporated and received monies from contributions, the Winslow city government, and the Navajo Tribe. The Center was located in an old store on First Avenue near "Indian Bars" and the police headquarters (see Fig. 9a). The Center functioned as a place for Reservation families to meet, mind children while parents shopped, and a shower was provided. In August of 1964, the store was condemned and the Center closed. Although the Center was staffed by volunteers, Winslow churchmen and others arranged for young Mennonite couples to be managers for one or two years each. These couples were given living quarters and a small salary. This program has continued to the present.

In November of 1964, the Center was moved to a refurnished barracks building on US 66 (see Fig. 9c), and facilities were expanded. The new location was nearer "Indian City", away from bars of the business district, and next door to a Hubbell trading post (see Beilder 1965). In-town Indians visited the Center for showers, TV, and "family nights" while Reservation families utilized the showers, kitchen and baby-sitting facilities. Over 30 people visited the Center daily and 20¢ showers are frequently used. "Family nights", held bi-weekly in winter, were attended largely by in-town families and included films or slide shows, childrens' games, door prize, and refreshments. Center hours were approximately from 8:00 AM to 5:00 PM. An Alcoholics Anonymous group has recently been started.

The change of location seems to have increased utilization by in-town families rather than Reservation families but lessened problems of parental drinking while children were left in the Center and other problems faced by the volunteer workers. The Winslow Indian Center is visited by in-town Navajo, Hopi, and a few others while Reservation families mostly are Navajo from Leupp, Seba Delkai, and Indian Wells areas. The Center was not conceived as primarily a church-oriented installation by its organizers and the Board of Directors is composed of churchmen and civic leaders.

Gallup, New Mexico, is the only other US 66 "bordertown" to have a city-sponsored center for Indians as well as a center sponsored by the Catholic Church (see Anonymous 1965:c).

Parades

Each town of course has parades for various events, but in-town Indian participation is limited to Flagstaff's Pow Wow parade (and then only a few) and student musicians in high school bands.

Neighborhood Youth Corps

Federally funded NYC programs for teenagers in both towns have included local Indian residents. In Flagstaff about 12 to 15 young people worked in roads and parks crews, city offices, and playgrounds and received $1.25 per hour as well as instruction. In Winslow, a similar program included fewer Indian teenagers but about a dozen or so worked as interpreters at the Municipal Hospital, weed clearing gangs, and maintenance crews. About 30 Dormitory students participated in NYC during the 1965-1966 winter school year. Most NYC enrollers were Navajo.

County Fair, Flagstaff

The Coconino County Fair held near Flagstaff in August contains an Indian art and crafts exhibit managed by a Hopi man, a long time resident. Examples of arts and crafts from local shops are on view and a well-known kachina maker, also a resident for many years, exhibits his skills and techniques.

Fourth of July Pow Wow, Flagstaff

The widely known Flagstaff Fourth of July Pow Wow was begun in 1929 as a rodeo, night "ceremonials" and a visiting time for northern Arizona Indians which would benefit white townspeople and Indian visitors. The three day celebration includes downtown parades, rodeo events, night dances, a carnival, and the Museum of Northern Arizona's Hopi craftsmen show. Reservation families from northern Arizona and New Mexico camp in the Pow Wow grounds or stay in local

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motels, set up booths to sell food, crafts, and jewelry. Much shopping in city stores is done. A special issue of The Arizona Daily Sun contains stories on Hopi legends, Navajo weaving, Apache dance teams, thumbnail sketches of Indian tribes and related topics, usually accurate but popularly written.

Families and individuals from Navajo and Apache Reservations and from Hopi, Zuni, Acoma and Rio Grande pueblos attend but a majority are Navajo. About 50 to 60 booths are set up, mostly by pueblo persons. Approximately 5,000 to 6,000 Indians camped at the Pow Wow grounds last year. A "Pow Wow" Princess is chosen from a field of contestants who must be single, at least one-quarter Indian descent, and a good horsewoman (see Boissevain 1965 for a discussion of "Indian Princesses" as an assumed symbol of Indian identity). Many relatives of in-town Indian families stay with their kin during the celebration. A Flagstaff Navajo cowboy won top bulldogging prizes last year, but local residents participate only as sightseers and carnival-goers.

Recreation in the form of drinking is popular. Wine sells for $3.00 a pint at the Pow Wow camp. Local liquor stores accept jewelry and other articles on pawn. A "drunk tank" at the camp grounds is manned by Navajo Tribal Police. City, County, and Tribal Police made nearly 300 arrests last year, mostly Navajo on drunk charges, and the Tribal Police held about 600 persons in the "tank" but did not book them. By contrast, 75 Indians were booked for drunkeness during February of 1965. Sentences range from 30 day suspended for Reservation persons and a $10.00 to $30.00 fine for local residents. Law enforcement during Pow Wow seems adequate given a great influx of Indians, Anglo tourists, and others. Group card playing by men, watching the rodeo, movies, carnival, visiting, and "window shopping" are other recreational activities. See Fig. 10 for Pow Wow scences.

The Pow Wow serves to draw families and individuals from Reservations to Flagstaff even if for a short time. Many families undoubtedly come every year and thus become familiar with Flagstaff.

County Welfare Programs

The Coconino County Welfare Department assumes welfare cases of off-Reservation Indians who remain within the department's jurisdiction. In Flagstaff, about a dozen Indian families, mostly Navajo, receive monthly surplus food commodities at the city's distribution point. Usually these families have just arrived in town and have not received a paycheck. In child care programs, approximately six Navajo children are in foster homes and about three Indian families are adopting Indian children. Thus, welfare programs involve few Indian families or individuals, but is important to some newcomers.

Zane Gray Days, Winslow

The midsummer "Zane Gray Stampede" of Winslow involves parades, two days of rodeo competition, and a queen contest. This event is not geared toward Indian participation as is the Flagstaff Pow Wow, but a few Indian cowboys enter events and some Indians are spectators. Participation by in-town Indian residents is negligible.

INSTITUTIONAL ACTIVITIES

Church Membership

Each church leader in Winslow and Flagstaff was sent a short questionaire regarding resident Indian membership and participation in church activities and was asked to communicate his impressions of major problems faced by Indian families. Interviews with several churchmen were held also.

Eleven Flagstaff churchmen responded from a total of about 25. All responding churches except three had one to ten participating Indian members. These churches included Seventh Day Adventists, Church of the Nazarene, a Lutheran group, an Espiscopal Church, two Baptist churches, and two Catholic congregations. The exceptions were a Catholic Church in the Guadalupe area, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (Mormon), and the Federated Church. The Catholic Church is attended by about 30 Indian residents, both Navajo

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and Laguna, while the Latter Day Saints Church includes about 200 Navajo Dormitory students in childrens' activities but half that number of local adults and children during the summer. Dormitory children attend Sunday School at the Federated Church but in varying numbers. Church activities attended by Indian residents include worship services, educational classes, and social events.

In Flagstaff, there are five main missionary organizations; United Mission to the Indians, Indian Bible Conference, Southwest School of Missions, Flagstaff Mission to the Navajo, and the Lamenite Branch of the Latter Day Saints Church. With the exception of the Indian Bible Conference, these groups have all been founded since World War II. The functions of these groups differ from the training of Indian and Anglo missionaries (Southwest School of Missions), summertime campground meetings (Indian Bible Conference), to serving as headquarters for mission stations on nearby reservations (other groups listed).

From twenty Winslow churches, ten responded, seven of which noted Indian resident participation. While Winslow has no missionary training schools or large mission system headquarters, there are several smaller mission churches located near the "Indian City" area which serve congregations of in-town Indians. As in Flagstaff, the Latter Day Saints Church and one Catholic Church have over 200 Hopi, Zuni, Acoma, and Navajo members combined but the total number of smaller mission members probably exceeds this number. Popular activities in all churches for local Indians are worship services, educational, and social programs. The proximity of small mission churches with the Dormitory and "Indian City" is an important factor in church participation by Winslow Indian residents (see Marting 1965a).

School-Connected Activities

Few parents of Indian children in Flagstaff and Winslow public schools attend Parent-Teacher Association meetings. Participation in school social life, athletics teams, and other activities seems relatively unhampered for Indian students but mostly up to the individual student. Each year

Northern Arizona University enrolls about 50 to 60 Indian students from several tribal groups. These students have formed the NAU Inter-Tribal Club and the Hopi Students Club and belong to other campus organizations as well. The Inter-Tribal Club presents Indian dances to raise money for scholarships. A majority of NAU Indian students are Navajo and nearly all are from Reservation families.

Other Institution Sponsored Activities

A small number of handicapped Indians have been evaluated, trained, and rehabilitated by the University Navajo Rehabilitation Program and the Goodwill Industries Shop in Flagstaff. Most of these persons were Reservation residents prior to rehabilitation. The Santa Fe Railroad Winslow Indian Band has recently been revived. Winslow had an "Indian Center Day" in June 1965 with an open house, youth dance, and a box lunch with entertainment by the Navajo Tribal Band, individual performers from Reservation areas, and a dance team from the Laguna Colony of Winslow. Indians from Reservation, Winslow and Anglos from towns attended (Marting 1965b).

SPECIAL GROUPS

Labor Unions

Indian membership in unions is difficult to assess because Reservation and non-Reservation members are combined in total figures. From the available evidence, the Laborers Union contain more Indian residents (approximately 20) than do the Electrician Union (2 Indian journeymen), the Carpenters Union (perhaps 10), or the sawmill Workers Group (no data available due to strike during summer of 1965).

Self-Help and Religious Service Organizations

A few Indian families are in contact with the Flagstaff Salvation Army unit, Sunshine Rescue Mission, or Alcoholics Anonymous. These families are usually recent arrivals in lower educational and occupational levels, and live in Armory, Guadalupe or South San Francisco Street neighborhoods. The influence of Winslow's Alcoholics Anonymous or Salvation Army office is unknown.

Service Clubs, Political Groups, and Social Organizations

Very few Indian residents are members of various service clubs or political groups in either town. Other ethnic-racial components of Flagstaff have their respective social and political organizations such as a chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the League of United Latin American Citizens, composed of Spanish-Americans. In neither town are there groups composed of Indian members only such as those described by Abalon for San Francisco (1964). The only organization composed of all in-town Indians is the pueblo-like structure of the Laguna Colony in Winslow. The Colony has a Governor, Lt. Governor, and Secretary-Treasurer, observes the Day of the Three Kings, and honors its governor with dances. A "German Band" sponsored by the Flagstaff Chamber of Commerce is lead by a Papago man, a long time resident.

Attitudes

The Anglo attitude toward Indian residents and the residents' view of city living of course varies from individual to individual. Anglo residents most often mention "color" as the contribution of Indians to life in both cities but economic impact of "Indian trade" is recognized also (see Chapter 4). Anglo informants point out crafts, dress, and of course ceremonies, either in the form of Pow Wow night dances or kachina dances in Hopi villages as adding "color". Chamber of Commerce in both towns emphasize the nearness to Indian Reservations as advantages and Winslow Chamber of Commerce organizes a large car caravan every year to attend the Snake Dance in August.

The position of Indian residents in the social, political, and economic fabric of both towns seems to be best described as "separateness". Many Anglo informants note that the separateness is self-imposed in many cases but other non-Negro English speakers list language, physical type, and way of life as reinforcing the "separate" status. Most Anglos believe the Hopi or other Pueblo dwellers adjust to city life quicker and easier than other Indians. The Hopi, informants state, seem to be more ambious and eager to be successful in the city. Some informants believe Pueblo living, better English, better work habits, and "settled way of life" contribute to Hopi success.

Covert prejudice toward Indians in general exists as do prejudices between other components of Flagstaff and Winslow populations, but overt discriminatory acts seem to be isolated, individualized, and most often directed toward Reservation or "Blanket" Indians not town dwellers. Some Spanish speaking observers describe greater antagonism toward Indians, often manifest in youth fights, or bar brawls. Probably this attitude stems from a similarity in accented English, job competition, socio-economic standing, and occasional confusion of physical type. The Negro and Chinese-American attitude is unknown.

In general, the non-Indian citizens place the Indian residents in the class structure of both towns as being "separate" but roughly equal in position to the Spanish-speakers and above the Negro component. The stereotype of the Indian as a heavy drinker, with loose morals, and mismanaged money exists in some quarters but seem to be tempered with the generally favorable attitude of "color", economic impact, and general cultural uniqueness.

Local newspapers carry many news items regarding tribal governments, new reservation industries, as well as stories of accidents or unlawful acts involving Indians. Feature stories such as those in special Pow Wow editions or an article on a kachina maker in Winslow (Anonymous 1965a), affect attitudes favorably. Citizens of both towns read daily about Indians and are in direct or indirect contact each day. Such cognizance of Indian culture seems to add a favorable or at least neutral attitude of Anglos. The Museum of Northern Arizona's exhibits and shows help to form interest in the public.

Indian residents nearly always state that a "job" was their reason for deciding to move to Flagstaff or Winslow. Limited reservation employment, a desire for modern American material culture, lack of electricity and other amentities in many Reservation areas, and perhaps a spirit of adventure seem to be behind the job desire. Indian informants disliked high rents and available housing, amount of money needed to live in the city, and lesser factors as weather, traffic, numbers of people, and attitudes of some Anglos. Recreation possibilities (TV, movies), lower prices and better selection in stores, and of course greater income were usually stated as advantages of town life. Nearly all informants believed that in Flagstaff and Winslow, Indian people were treated fairly most of the time, but Flagstaff seems to be better in this regard according to informants. A ranking of "border towns" with respect to relative merits as seen by Indian residents would begin with Flagstaff first choice, and proceed east along US 66 toward Gallup, New Mexico

When asked to state the most difficult problem an Indian family might face in an urban setting, Indian informants were about evenly divided between "drinking" and "finding a job or house" while a few stated "just getting used to it". Anglo informants, churchmen, and businessmen believed the use of alcohol is the most serious problem of Indian town residents but money mismanagement was listed as being important also (see Fig. 9d). Reservation residents recognize this problem as shown in the organization of Navajo Alcoholics Anonymous (Anonymous 1965b, Anonymous 1965d, Chamber 1965).

Little antagonism toward other segments of either city was shown by Indian informants but fights among Indian and Spanish-speaking youths were mentioned. One Hopi man stated that he did not like Negros and no Negro-Indian marriage was noted. In some respects, the Negros' attitude toward Flagstaff seems similar to the Indian residents' views (see Sweitzer 1965). Both recognize minimal prejudice in most interpersonal relations but disliked available housing although the Negro buyer or renter has fewer choices. In general, the attitudes of Indian residents toward Flagstaff as a small city near Reservations in which to move and live are favorable.

Conclusions

Participation in various city activities by Indian residents is limited to certain city-sponsored programs or events such as Winslow's Indian Center or Flagstaff's Pow Wow although fewer individuals attend the latter. County fairs and welfare programs have a few Navajo or Hopi participants but summer Neighborhoods Youth Corps in both cities included more than a score of local Indian teenagers. Thus governmental sponsored programs which attract or contact Indian residents are economic (NYC and Welfare), recreational (Indian Center, Pow Wow, and other events), and housing (discussed elsewhere).

The greatest participation by in-town Indian residents in institutional activities, excluding children in school systems, is in church congregations but here Flagstaff and Winslow exhibit different patterns. It seems that while Flagstaff has a greater variety of denominations, there is less variety in attendance than in Winslow where Indian members are found in more churches. This situation most probably is a result of more concentrated Indian populations in Winslow and the presence of mission churches near heavily Indian occupied neighborhoods. Flagstaff, on the other hand, contains a more scattered population but does contain several mission system headquarters which tend to connect the city with certain reservation areas via specific ties. In both towns, Catholic and Latter Day Saints churches contain consistent numbers of Indian members. That Indians tend toward a pentecostal or revivalistic group seems an over-simplification.

Little Indian participation in special groups is indicated and there are no Indian-composed social clubs or associations as found in other cities (Ablon 1964; Ritzenthaler and Sellers 1955). The only all-Indian organization are the Inter-Tribal Club, the Hopi Students' Club, and the government of the Laguna Colony, all three specialized groups in membership and function.

Because of various factors such as the Museum of Northern Arizona, Northern Arizona University as a center for Indian higher education in this part of the state, newspaper coverage, personal daily experience, governmental agency employment, and economic impact, both direct and indirect, many Anglo residents of Flagstaff and Winslow have favorable attitudes towards Indian residents, but the stereotyped view is not completely absent. Prejudices seem individualized rather than group, and isolated but more antagonism exists between Spanish-speakers and Indians than with English speaking whites. The Indian resident sees these two border towns as having economic, recreational, and material culture advantages as well as being near enough to Reservation-dwelling relatives, but dislike the money economy of the city and available housing which, we add, is a general complaint by non-Indians as well. Drinking and economic problems are seen by Indians and non-Indians as problem areas. In general, Indian residents are favorable toward town life but the nature of the sample of course affects the validity of this conclusion. Perhaps Reservation dwelling Indians have absorbed the pronouncement of some traders that town-life is potentially dangerous and harmful as Adams described (1963:265, 274).

Thus, Indian residents constitute a small component of Flagstaff and Winslow whose limited participation in town affairs reflects long standing cultural separateness and isolation from Anglo-based urban life. It is the "uniqueness" and "color" of these various native peoples and their ways of life which prompt many other townspeople to have initial interest, often leading to tolerance and empathy.

CHAPTER 6

COMPARISON AND CONCLUSIONS

As noted in Chapter 1, anthropological studies of native Americans in urban settings have become numerous in the last decade but many problems remain to be investigated. While such studies are important contributions, comparison with the Flagstaff and Winslow work is difficult because many reports deal with specific aspects of urban acculturation, aspects which received little attention here. General comparisons may be made, however, with some studies and specific comparisons may be drawn with other works. A comparison of conditions obtaining in Flagstaff and Winslow during the early 1950's and those described for the mid 1960's affords local historical comparisons. Concluding sections of the report will include major inferences from the data presented, some comments on the process of urban acculturation, and suggestions for future research.

Comparisons - The Urban Community

Previous researchers in this field have worked in large cities, usually long distances from reservation centers, medium-sized towns and cities closer to Indian populations, and in one smaller southwestern community close to various reservations. Major cities such as Los Angeles, Milwaukee, Albuquerque, Chicago, or St. Louis have had little or no contact with American Indians, except through recent relocation programs, and Indian residents compose an exceedingly small percent of total city population. Economic impact of these families and individuals in these cities must be negligible. These large industrial cities are composed of complex economic, social, and political systems, contain many cultural and racial components , and are distributed over a considerable geographical area.

The medium-sized towns and cities in which research has been done, such as Rapid City and Yankton, South Dakota, seem to be more comparable to Flagstaff and Winslow in that these communities are closer to reservations and therefore have been in contact with Indian populations for decades, especially since World War II. Resident Indians in these cities composed a recognizable, familiar minority, often the largest or second largest minority component whose impact on local economics was important. Unlike Flagstaff and Winslow, these South Dakota towns had no Bureau of Indian Affairs dormitory, no United States Public Health Service Indian Hospital, no institution of higher learning, and no anthropological museum when studied. Rapid City, however, has had a social service center for Catholic Indians since 1948 as well as service programs of other church groups (White 1960:161). These cities or towns, at the time of study, all contained between 10,000 and 25,000 inhabitants and are therefore midway in political, economic, and social complexity.

The studies of Indians living in a small community, those of Luebben's in sic "Carbonate City", southern Colorado, illustrated a town farily near reservations but it had a limited economic base, a simpler social and political system, and cultural contacts only in selected or specific relationships. Indian residents in "Carbonate City" composed a sizable minority group whose economic impact was major but whose contributions inother areas was minor (Luebben 1962, 1964a:9, 1964b). No governmental agency dealing with Indians was located in this mining community and other institutions such as an Indian center, a college or university, or a museum were absent.

Thus, among the other urban communities studied, the cities of Yankton and Rapid City contain more comparable elements than do the others and fortunately, the reports of Hurt, Lindquist, White, and Loverich, in combination, afford comparable detailed information. In addition, one community study of a reservation "agency town", that of Fort Defiance on the Navajo Reservation, provides some comparable information from an Anglo-founded enclave, a quite different type of "urban" center from those mentioned above (Bosch 1961).

Housing

Since published reports of studies in the larger cities contain little data on Indian resident housing, detailed comparison must be made with medium-sized cities, particularly Rapid City. As in Flagstaff and Winslow, Indian occupied housing in Rapid City has changed since the end of World War II. Researchers in this city during the early 1950's reported that "camps" of Indians were located along a creek which ran through the city (Lovrich 1952, Lindquist 1952). These "camps" were composed of tents, tarpaper and wooden shacks, and an occasional house. Other Indian families lived in low income areas near the creek "camps" but occupied somewhat better housing (Lindquist 1952:58-9). At the time of Lindquist's study, one third of the Rapid City Indians were classified as "Camp Indians", one third as "Shack Indians", and one third as "House Indians", those who rented or owned homes near the enclaved "camps". A few years later, White's study revealed that the "camp" pattern remained in four areas, but all city neighborhoods save one contained at least a few Indian residents (1960:170-1). In addition, the city government established the "Sioux Addition", a subdivision tract on the outskirts of town in which Indian families could buy land for homes at reasonable prices. White reported that 40 families chose to move to the "Sioux Addition". As in Flagstaff, a sequence of housing for Rapid City Indians began with residence in a "camp", then proceeded to a rented house in the area, and finally perhaps to ownership in various neighborhoods (Lindquist 1952:60), but White remarked that many families remained in the "camps" for years (1960:178).

As one analysis the Rapid City reports, a rough similarity with Flagstaff housing and settlement pattern change can be seen with respect to a developing dispersal pattern of Indian residents, a continuing occupancy in certain areas, the importance of city-sponsored developments, and a probable improvement of living conditions during the last decade.

As noted above, data on Indian housing in large cities is largely unavailable, but as Ablon has stated, most San Francisco Bay Area relocates reside in "typical working class housing" and "...many have taken advantage of low-rent housing projects" while a few families have bought their homes (1964:298). Frequent moves by Indians in the Bay Area parallels the evidence regarding Flagstaff residents who appear in a series of city directories but with different addresses each time. Hurt described the Sioux Indians in Yankton as not living in "...any racially segregated or single residential zone but they reside wherever they can find low-rental housing" (1962:227). The study by Ritzenthaler and Sellers in Milwaukee indicated that concentrations of Indian residents in "...older, less desirable areas of the city...made up of rooming houses or furnished room dwellings" were found and that only 12% of 306 families were home owners (1955:153).

In "Carbonate City", Luebben stated that local Navajos occupied two localities in the settlement. A large concentration lived in the north end of town, which included homes owned by mining company, and a second group located at the opposite end of the settlement, interspered among Anglo homes. Luebben noted that "Houses occupied by Navajos, whether owned or rented, were generally inferior to those occupied by Anglos" (1964a:9).

Participation in Urban Life

With respect to research in major cities, no pan-Indian social organizations such as Ablon (1964) has described for the San Francisco area were found in Flagstaff or Winslow with the possible exception of the "NAU Inter-Tribal Club". Milwaukee in the mid 1950's had two Indian organizations, one church sponsored, but one was not church connected. However, 66% of the resident Indian families belonged to no organizations except church congregations (Ritzenthaler and Sellers 1955:155).

Participation in the various Anglo church-sponsored Indian clubs in Rapid City was highest (about 65%) among the "Middle Class Indians" according to White, but less than one-quarter of these families belonged to non-religious Anglo clubs or organizations (1960:203-4). The pattern of church membership in Rapid City was described by White as follows: The "Middle Class Indians" were mostly Catholics, some "Middle Class" and "Transition Indians" were Episcopalians, other "Transition Indians" and some "Camp Indians" were Methodists, and the remaining "Camp Indians" belonged to various pentecostal groups (1960:190). Again, this pattern shows that the assumption of Indian preference for the pentecostal or revivalistic groups is overly simplified, at least in urban settings.

While other researchers do not detail Indian participation in city recreation, special events, or institutional programs, many students remark on the general lack of participation in these aspects by Indians. Ablon has stated that "In the Bay Area, Indians live in an open society of open associations, yet they have tended largely to limit their contacts to other Indians" (1964:303-4). On the other hand, Hurt has described Indians in Yankton as "generally excluded from the social and political activities of the community and they are rarely, if ever, invited to join clubs or organizations containing non-Indians and in city government they play only the role of voters " (1962:227). Luebben has noted that even though the "Carbonate City" Navajos constituted nearly one third of the population, no Indian was on the school board, no Indian representative sat on the town board, and no Navajo spokesman existed (1964a:9).

In so far as Indian attitudes toward city life is concerned, comments that the city is "a jungle, a desert, a prison" which Verdet recorded in Chicago and St. Louis were not heard in Flagstaff or Winslow (1961:2). According to White, the "Camp Indians" in Rapid City saw that city as too crowded, having too many regulations, and no room for children to play (1960: 173). The opinions of many Flagstaff and Winslow Indian informants were similar, but were usually economic in tone, rather than legal or recreational. White reported that about 70% of the "Camp Indians" thought that the city was "hard to get used to" and nearly 40% preferred the inconveniences of the reservation to the economic responsibilities of city life (1960:173). They remained in town only because of jobs. On the other hand, White's "Middle Class" group disliked the reservation and were almost totally committed to the urban milieu (1960:182). A similar spectrum of opinions, relative to various categories of orientation and acculturation has been described by Hodge (1965) and Hurt (1962).

Attitudes of Non-Indians

The general attitudes of non-Indian city residents toward their Indian fellow citizens as summarized for Flagstaff and Winslow is in contrast to those attitudes reported by Saski for the Fruitland area of northwestern New Mexico in which ...

> The Navajo as a whole have been considered inferior human beings, with "more illegitimate children than any other group of people in the United States". Their dress, their language, the outlying section of town where they gathered, all have militated against them. The few "educated" Indians, holding jobs in garages, trading posts, laundries, and restaurants have apparently won respect. The "half-educated" Navajos, however, have been considered "smart alecks", "no goods". The uneducated were "just plain ignorant", but at least they were said to keep their word and, in general, to be more trustworthy than the others (1960:34).

As Spicer has remarked, stereotyped attitudes such as these probably result from Indian resident contacts with Spanish-American and Anglos in the lower status brackets who form standard opinions and class-caste feelings about in-town Indians (1962:358).

With regard to Pueblo-dwelling Indians in or near Anglo urban centers, La Farge's observations regarding Rio Grande Pueblo Indians in the Santa Fe-Los Alamos-Taos-Albuquerque zone seems to be similar to the Hopi-Anglo situation in northern Arizona. La Farge states that ...

> Tribal Indians move freely about the zone to work and study, some settle in towns, some commute. They are found in skilled and semi-professional positions, and in businesses of their own. They and the community are ready for intermingling without talk of "assimilation". As a result the Indians are no more segregated than is anyone having the choice of either living on the farm or going to the city. This happy, positive example could be overbalanced by innumerable wretched, negative ones. Both serve to emphasize a principle that disintergrationalists usually ignore - that is, in whatever way, Indians are to be urged

> to leave home, both the communities that receive them and the Indians must be ready for each other. This condition rarely exists (1957:43).

La Farge's underlining the last point emphasizes the importance of non-Indian attitudes toward Indians as urban residents in the urban acculturation process. While La Farge does not discuss the possible factors underlying "this happy, positive example", it should be remembered that this area of New Mexico contains a long historical period of cultural contact (peaceful and not peaceful), a record of economic growth in recent decades, opportunities for Federal and State governmental employment, proximity of large and medium urban centers to reservations or pueblo lands, and several institutions of higher education and museums.

Employment

Comparative information regarding job type can be drawn from Hurt's paper, the data collected by Graves and co-workers, and a recent census of Los Angeles Indian residents (Price 1966). Hurt has stated that Sioux wage earners in Yankton generally held unskilled jobs with only a few Indians employed in skilled occupations such as auto mechanics, house painter, or radio parts assembler (1962:227). No Yankton Indian residents were "white collar" workers or professional persons. As consistent with governmental policy, Graves and associates found that 85% of their studied sample of Navajo relocates held semi-skilled jobs and had received vocational training (Graves and others 1965). Price's work in Los Angeles during April of 1966 revealed that from a sample of 625 adult Indian individuals, 7.3% held professional occupations, 39.2% held skilled jobs, and 28.5% were unskilled workers (Price 1966:4). Detailed comparisons of these data with the Flagstaff and Winslow research is difficult since specific occupations are not discussed in the above reports, but occupations held by Indians in Flagstaff and Winslow could be grouped in roughly similar categories as Price shows for Los Angeles Indians. Professional Indian residents in Flagstaff and Winslow hold jobs in engineering, social service, nursing, and education fields and work for governmental agencies. A larger group work in skilled or semi-skilled positions in construction, ordinance handling and processing, and maintenance fields. A third group, the largest, hold unskilled jobs in construction, tourism-related services, and lumber industries. Such a picture of Indian-held occupations is different from Yankton, South Dakota, and Denver Indian residents but is roughly similar to the pattern of the Los Angeles worker sample, about half of whom were "self-relocated" (Price 1966:5).

Employer attitude in Yankton described by Hurt was one of reluctance to hire Indian employees largely because of poor performance by them (1962:227). But "The Yankton Indians frequently acknowledge this descrimination as largely justified, but they object to an Indian with good work habits being penalized by the bad behavior of some members of his race" (Hurt 1962:227). Graves and co-workers have noted that in general, employers of Denver Navajo workers were pleased with their Indian employees, but the employers did list lack of initiative, communication problems, and drinking problems as bad traits of some Navajos (Graves and others 1965). Employer attitude in Winslow and Flagstaff seems to be similar to the opinions above but a more favorable attitude is more common toward professional, skilled, or semi-skilled Indian workers whose work habits are probably sufficient. A less favorable attitude is often held by employers regarding unskilled workers.

Indian Residents in Flagstaff and Winslow; 1952 and 1965

As part of a Bureau of Indian Affairs study of border towns carried out in 1951, Flagstaff, Winslow, and the Indian Village near Bellemont were described by Lautzenheiser and others (1952) and by Cadman and others (1952). These 1952 reports afford an opportunity for historical comparison with certain aspects of the present study.

Flagstaff - Demography

As can be seen from Fig. 5, the distribution of Indian population between Flagstaff and Bellemont was quite different in the early 1950's than what it is today. Many more Indians lived at Bellemont than in Flagstaff at this time but a large proportion of the 81 Indian families in Flagstaff (nearly 40%) had lived in town for four years or more (Lautzenheiser and others 1952:37). While over half of the Hopi families had been residents for four years or more, only one-quarter of the Navajo families had been town-dwellers for the same number of years. Lautzenheiser and associates found that the Flagstaff Indian residents frequently moved within the town in search for better housing. Since 1952, Flagstaff city directories show that in general more Hopi families have been residents longer than many Navajo families and that a change of address as shown from directory to directory is more frequent for Navajo families.

Employment and Economics

Lautzenheiser and associates indicated that almost half of the employed Hopi Flagstaff residents had worked for the same employer for four years or longer and almost all were Navajo Army Depot workers, then Navajo Ordinance Depot (1952:39). But less than 20% of Flagstaff Navajo residents had worked for this length of time at one job. In addition to N.A.D. employment, which included about 200 Indians, resident Indians worked in grocery stores, cafes, laundries, service stations, and as painters and leather workers. Lautzenheiser and co-workers estimated that the Indian residents of Flagstaff and Bellemont contributed one million dollars to the local economy (1952:36). At present, the jobs held by Indian residents are more varied but N.A.D. employment is still important. Total economic impact of local Indian residents is probably between two and three million dollars, but "Reservation trade" is much greater.

Housing

During the time of the Bureau of Indian Affairs study, nearly all Flagstaff Indian residents were renting one or two room houses for $30.00 to $35.00 per month (see McComb and others 1951:107-110 for Gallup housing at this time). About two-thirds of the houses had outside toilets and as many had outside water sources as had inside taps (Lautzenheiser and others 1952:20-41). Hopi families lived in what is now called East Flagstaff, in the Guadalupe-South San Francisco Street area, and in the western sections of town while Navajos resided in neighborhoods south of Highway 66. Clark Homes apparently contained only one or two Indian families, if any, and Brannen Homes was being constructed. Certainly Indian occupied housing has generally improved because of city growth, increasing Indian ownership, city-run housing, and greater Indian familiarity with urban housing.

Participation in Urban Life

Lautzenheiser and associates found that about half of the Flagstaff Hopi families with children in local schools belonged to Parent-Teacher Association but only a little over one-quarter of the Navajo families were members (1952: 46). However, active participation was lacking. A little less than half of Hopi and Navajo families in Flagstaff attended a church or mission with the Navajo preferring missions and the Hopi attending churches (Lautzenheiser and others 1952:46). No Indian member was found in any civic organizations except veterans' groups and P.T.A. and there was little active participation. The general picture of Indian participation in town life has not changed appreciably since the early 1950's except that a small number of Indian residents do participate in special events or programs such as Neighborhood Youth Corps, County Fair, and other events.

Lautzenheiser and co-workers summarized their findings by listing "Problems faced by Indians" which included a lack of adequate housing at rents that could be afforded, a lack of adequate knowledge of domestic health and sanitation, little feeling of being a part of the town, and lack of "community spirit", slowness of Flagstaff citizenry to realize that many Indians were permanent residents, and finally a "desire on the part of the community of Flagstaff to set Indians apart as a curiosity and a tourist attraction" (1952:50). Housing is still a problem and interest in the community is low. Probably many non-Indian citizens have not recognized the permanent residency of some families. The attraction of tourists to Flagstaff because of "Indians" continues to be promoted.

Winslow - Demography

At the time of the study of Cadman and co-workers, about 400 Indians resided in Winslow. By actual count, 335 Indian individuals were recorded; it was thought that they accounted for about 80% of Winslow's Indian population at the time (Cadman and others 1952:51). As in Flagstaff, Cadman and associates found that about three-quarters of the Hopi families interviewed (28 of 35 families) has lived in Winslow for four years or longer but only about a third of interviewed Navajo families had been Winslow residents for the same length of time (1952:51). Paralleling the data from later city directories, Winslow Indian residents did not seem to move within the city. Winslow's Indian population has about doubled in the last 14 years as shown in Fig. 5.

Employment and Economics

It was determined by Cadman and others that a little over half of the Hopi wage earners interviewed had worked for one employer for four years or more but that only 18% of Navajo workers had similar work records (1952:52). Of course, Navajo length of residence affects such a comparison. A pattern of seasonal employment was found for eleven Navajo families and one Hopi family. Cadman and co-workers did not enumerate job type or economic impact. At present, Indian residents are employed by the United States Public Health Service Hospital, the Bureau of Indian Affairs Dormitory, the Santa Fe Railroad, and service industries related to tourism as described in Chapter 4.

Housing

In 1952, Winslow Indian residents lived in a squatters' camp near the United States Public Health Service Hospital, in rental units elsewhere in the town, or in self-owned homes, but Indian neighborhoods are not located in Cadman's report. No Navajo family owned a home but nine Hopi families were owners. Ten families, nearly evenly divided between Hopi and Navajo families, were squatters and the remaining 49 families rented houses orapartments or lived in the Laguna Colony (Cadman and others 1952:54). Living conditions were better in self-owned or rented houses than in the squatters' camp or the Laguna Colony with respect to flush toilets, inside water supply, and electricity; houses in the squatters' camp did not have these utilities and the Laguna Colony had only electricity. As described for Flagstaff, some families rented one room units in older motels or apartment structures. Cadman and associates noted that difficulties were faced by Indian families seeking rentals (1952:55). Apparently, Indian residents have remained in areas in the western end of Winslow and general conditions have improved somewhat but are still inadequate in some localities, especially in the "Southside" neighborhoods. Indian residents still have difficulty in securing adequate housing at rents they can afford. Older motels and apartment units have continued as popular rentals. The number of Hopi home owners continues to be greater than Navajo owners.

Participation in Urban Life

Unlike Flagstaff, about half of all Indian families whose children attended public schools belonged to P.T.A. and considered themselves active members; two individuals had held offices in the group (Cadman and others 1952:56). Nearly all other Winslow social organizations did not have Indian members. Only three families had received aid from local welfare or service agencies. No data on church or mission membership was given by Cadman and associates. Regarding law enforcement, Cadman and co-workers related that "Indian residents of Winslow do not make any undue proportion of the law enforcement problem of the community nor do they feel any undue grievance as a result of police or court action" (1952:58). In general, the Anglo attitude towards Indian residents was one of tolerance but not full acceptance (Cadman and others 1952:59). This attitude seems to have continued. At present, participation in civic activities by Winslow Indians is selective as described in Chapter 5 and few individuals belong to social organizations.

CONCLUSIONS

Major Findings from the Survey

In terms of the demography of Indian urban residents in Flagstaff and Winslow, a slow growth of that population seems likely. The heavy influx of Indian individuals and families into Flagstaff during the 1950's seems to have tapered off but may increase again somewhat if current national war efforts continues and the Indian Village at Bellemont is closed or if Flagstaff attracks many new industries. The percent of total city population that is Indian continues to decrease even though their group increases: this is due to the growth of the Caucasian population, particularly English-speaking. The number of Indian males and females in town seems to indicate the non-existance of a large group of single male workers. Winslow demographic data is less complete but it is inferred that Winslow Indian residents are a slow growing, non-Caucasian minority who comprise the largest non-white group in that town. In both communities, many more Navajos are residents than Hopi or other tribal groups and this is consistent with reservation population size. Many persons of other tribes, Southwestern and non-Southwestern, are comparatively new arrivals.

Patterns of settlement in Flagstaff show a dispersed Indian population in nearly every neighborhood or enumeration district, but the Armory, Guadalupe, South San Francisco Street, and Sunnyslope areas contain a majority. This dispersed pattern brings the Indian and non-Indian citizen into contact and possibly facilitates social tolerance. In Winslow, the Indian population is more concentrated as a result of several economic, social, and demographic factors. In both towns, governmental housing is important, but less so in Winslow. Housing seems improved in the last decade, but continues to be varied in quality.

From the gross demographic figures of northern Arizona counties, neighboring Reservations, and from the communities under discussion, it may be seen that this region of Arizona is heavily Indian in population, land occupancy, and cultural heritage. It may be hypothesized that the sizable non-urban

Indian populations, including the widely different Navajo and Hopi who furnish clear majority of urban residents, in geographic proximity to medium sized Anglo urban areas, now influence the urban centers as much as the towns influence the Reservation population, but only in certain aspects. Certainly in Flagstaff and Winslow, the impact of neighboring native cultures is evident in consumer economics and certain aspects of material culture and the impact of urban centers on reservation populations is also evident in these sectors as has been documented by many students (for example, see Moyer and Clark 1965). Of course, the transmission of other aspects such as religious concepts, language, or other economic features is one way, from city to reservation. If the demographic situation were such that larger Anglo urban centers were neighboring much smaller native groups whose population growth was less or non-existent, the cultural influence of those urban centers would be much greater than the flow of influence from the reservations to cities. Such seems to be the case in the Rapid City studies, and in Yankton, South Dakota. Native cultural conservatism, however, is an important variable.

At the present situation, urban Indian residents in Flagstaff and Winslow, as they move to live within these centers, change their demographic environment and with this change to minority status, cultural dominence shifts. However, in the presence of reservation to urban influence as based on demographic strength and proximity, Flagstaff and Winslow are environments containing many elements familiar to reservation dwellers.

Indian residents in both towns are found in nearly every employment category, from professional to low status levels but many are unskilled or semi-skilled workmen. Professional and skilled individuals are increasing, mainly because of governmental agency employment. Some employers tend to believe Hopi employees are "better workers" but others see their Indian employees as individuals rather than members of a tribal group. The existence of various military, health, educational, and social service governmental agencies in Flagstaff and Winslow and the number of jobs available in these installations is probably important an attraction for persons contemplating a move. The economic impact of local

Indians is small but the reservation-based consumer trade is recognized as quite important to the economics of both towns. In other border towns, however, more mass media advertising is aimed at reservation customers.

Indian residents tend to remain removed from much of city social activity, partly by choice, lack of interest, and lack of understanding of these activities, and partly because of Anglo attitudes although both towns seem open and liberal in inter-racial relations. It is inferred that the "separateness" of the Indian components in both towns has resulted from the cultural differences described by Anglos as "color", from self-imposed non-participation, and from Anglo attitudes, each factor reinforcing the others. Indian participation in city life seems to be selective in city housing developments, some recreational activities, Winslow's Indian Center, and a few other activities such as bands, special events, and specialized groups such as Neighborhood Youth Corps. Church membership and church participation is fairly common however. Anglo townspeople when thinking of the social status of Indian residents, often place them in a seperate but approximately equal position to the Spanish-speaking citizens.

Indian residents are attracted to cities by the availability of jobs, and other economic factors. This conclusion is quite parallel to that of Graves and associates (1965), McGregor (1946:83), and other researchers. But Indian informants were vocal in disliking other aspects of city living such as available housing, money needed for daily life, and other specific urban characteristics. Flagstaff and Winslow are viewed as fairly adequate towns in which to live by Indian residents but it is doubtful if many consider themselves as permanent residents.

Discussion of the Survey Hypotheses

The acceleration of acculturation processes as obtaining in communities of at least several thousand inhabitants seems evident from the data as the Indian must learn and deal with a larger body of unfamiliar social, economic, and political patterns in a town or city. There are more change inducing stimuli in the city which involve values, material culture, economic exchange systems, settlement pattern, social control, and so on. The Indian resident of Flagstaff and Winslow, as an urban citizen, has placed himself in a different cultural setting which contains a quite different complex of stimuli requiring some type of reaction, a complex not equalled in variety to innovations present on his reservation. One may say that those migrating Indian families and individuals who accept the acceleration may be successful in their urban experience, those who cannot, return home. The first hypothesis, then, seems supported, albeit overly simplified.

Factors that seem to make cities such as Flagstaff and Winslow "easier" places for Indians to establish residence are medium size, proximity to Reservation homes, a generally tolerant social climate as resulting from various sources of favorable attitudes, employment opportunities presented by governmental agencies and installations, and cultural contact of long duration. The attitudes of Indians in Chicago and St. Louis as recorded by Verdet and the high rate of return to reservation homes by relocated Navajos in Denver as reported by Graves and associates (1965) seem to indicate serious adjustment problems encountered by Indian residents living in large cities away from traditional homelands. However, Martin has stated that "adaptive-like" behavior is more frequently shown by Navajos in an un-named Southwestern metropolitan area than by Choctaw or Sioux (1964:294). Martin has suggested that "...the passive and cooperative nature of the Navajo is the most plausible explanation for their better performance" (1964:294). Large cities may contain greater employment opportunities, but this advantage seems offset by disadvantages of great social complexity without social integration and tolerance of the various components, the dilution of favorable attitudes emanating from various sources, if any, and very little familiarity with or cognizance of the American Indian populations. Small towns, such as "Carbonate City", seem to offer few choices in employment, housing, or individual roles, and situations of personal intolerance probably have greater impact.

The similarity of many aspects of American Indian urban acculturation as found in Flagstaff, Winslow, Rapid City, and the Santa Fe, New Mexico, area as described by LaFarge, seems to result from the fact that these medium size cities as a group are characterized by the factors listed above, factors which do not exist in larger cities or smaller towns. All factors seem to operate simultaneously and in a reinforcing manner; it appears that other southwestern border towns not containing one or more of the attributes are considered by Indians as being less desirable for residence and by Anglos as less tolerant of Indian residents in general. Thus, the third hypothesis seems generally supported by survey research and comparisons.

As noted in various discussions of data above, Hopi urban residents own more homes than Navajo residents, often have lived in town longer than many Navajo persons, have often held a job longer than Navajo workers, and are sometimes thought to be better employees than Navajos by some employers. If such general patterns indicate less disruptive effects of town living than those effects experienced by Navajos, survey research has supported the fourth hypothesis as stated. Anglo observers in both towns often noted that Hopi residents have had fewer adjustment problems than Navajos, but of course there are individual exceptions that should not be overlooked.

There seems to be a complex of factors that partially explain this phenomenon. The level of socio-cultural integration of Hopi culture is more similar to the Anglo pattern of life than is the Navajo. Settlement pattern and complex systems of economic production and distribution are similar aspects in Hopi and Anglo culture, aspects that may initially affect urban success. Perhaps greater familiarity with English and other skills needed for city living on the part of individual Hopi are important factors also. To use Dozier's descriptive term, Hopi and other Pueblo groups may "compartmentalize" aspects of Anglo culture, that is, certain features of foreign cultures are practiced but are not incorporated into traditional lifeways (1961:175-78). This compartmentalization of Anglo urban patterns may enable a traditional Hopi individual to successfully live in town and continue traditional practice as well. The Navajo, on the other hand, may incorporate many Anglo features while attempting to maintain traditional ways but is comparatively unsuccessful in the attempt. Thus, it appears that certain attributes of modern Hopi culture may indeed explain relative success of Hopi urban residents as compared to Navajo town dwellers.

Comments Regarding the Urban Acculturation Process

Students of urban acculturation of native American groups are in the process of developing theoretical frameworks based on extant descriptive data. While there are many statements, descriptions, and discussions of cultural change, acculturation, and allied concepts, there are now also a few works dealing with the contact situation termed urban acculturation in this report. In Robert Redfield's classic discussion of the "folk-urban continuum", settlements in the Yucatacan Peninsula were arranged along a gradient of complexity in order of their secularization, economic self-sufficiency, and internal unity with the capital city of Merida as the urban end of the continuum (1941). Redfield's continuum from folk society to urban society has been critisized and modified by several researchers but is still an important conceptual tool. However, Redfield's ideas cannot by fully utilized here since this report contains no data on reservation communities, the intermediate and terminal positions of his continuum.

A few years after Redfield's work, Florence Hawley examined acculturation of the Rio Grande Pueblo area with reference to individualized adjustment processes, including these obtaining in urban centers (1948). Her paper contained instructive diagrams which compared the differing roles of the individual in the Indian pueblos, the Spanish-American villages, in the Anglo city, and finally the role of the Indian in the "White American Urban System." Hawley concluded that...

> The Indian moving into an Anglo town or city finds himself in a position parallel to that of the Anglo as an individual of a simple family which stands as nucleus of the whole. He has exchanged the secure

> background of his extended family for a very tenuous relationship with White families which he knows but with which he rarely is familiar. He is controlled by a secular government but has no direct relations to it (except in law enforcement) ...The effect of town life on the Indian in general is limitation and constriction of his universe, even though that universe is a part of the large whole of a modern nation (1948:621-22).

In White's study, the folk-urban continuum was employed since White believed that Dakota Indian culture was rapidly moving from "...a typical folk culture to an urban culture" (1960:4). But to Hurt, the use of this framework seemed inappropriate; Hurt has remarked that "The path of absorption in the Ynakton community is not a single track because this city has a composite cultural pattern and ...an Indian migrating to the city can integrate into an economically depressed class... or the middle class of skilled or semi-skilled laborers, or he may join the ranks of the unemployed ...." (1962:230). The folk-urban continuum has not been utilized by more recent researchers since it is a framework for describing society-wide changes, not transculturalization of the individual of acculturation of urban-based sub-groups.

Since it is evident that Indian individuals, not Indian societies, move from reservation to towns and cities, recent researchers have established at least three different typologies of Indian urban residents. Hurt has based his classification of the resident's reaction to his social environment which may be rejecting, selecting, or accepting and on the cultural orientation of the resident, that is, reservation, migration, or urban (1962:228). Hurt found that about 40% of the Yankton Indians could be classified as selective, urban oriented individuals (1962:229). Hurt's flexible categories are useful but he only described each type and did not furnish criterion. The Rapid City studies employed a typology which was based on type and location of housing and economic factors; hence, White discusses "Camp Indians", "Transition Indians", and "Middle Class Indians", terms based in part on those of Lindquist and Loverich except their "House Indians" has been changed to "Middle Class Indians". These categories are described rather than defined by the Rapid City researchers.

Hodge's recent Albuquerque study contains a typology which deliniates permanent or non-permanent residents, the latter subdivided into "traditional" and "Anglo-modified" types (1965). These resident types are defined and described and seem to be the most applicable to Flagstaff and Winslow. Hodge defines a permanent resident as a person who prefers city life to reservation life, resides in the city, and considers his residence as permanent; the non- permanent resident also lives in the city but prefers reservation life and regards his residence as only temporary. The traditional Navajo resident (Hodge studied only Navajos) speaks little or no English, lives a marginal economic life in the city, and desires to return to the reservation as soon as possible to continue traditional patterns. The Anglo-modified Navajo individual also desires to return to the reservation but wishes to live and work in a major reservation community such as Tuba City, Window Rock, or Chinle where he hopes to integrate traditional Navajo and modern Anglo aspects of life. Certainly many Flagstaff and Winslow Indian residents may be described and discussed using Hodge's categories but the small sample of the various tribal groups represented in both cities makes application of Hodge's categories difficult. Graves and associates have not established a typology of residents but prefer to utilize various models (Decision Model, Assimilation Model, and Economic Adjustment Model) in their studies (Graves and others 1965).

The typologies described above are necessary to an understanding of the urban acculturation process, but other facets must be included for a more complete examination. Certainly personal decision and expectations can be very important factors regarding adjustment or lack of adjustment as various researchers have noted (see Graves and others 1965; Hawley 1948:623: or Hodges 1965). One might utilize Spicer's four part division of the cultural contact situation, that is, assimilative, replacement, fusional, or isolative social and cultural integration (1961:528-34). As one type of contact community, Spicer sees the urban center as "characterized by linkage in economic and a variety of other areas without administrative centralization, highly variable role networks, and urban structural instability" (1961:526).

A move to Anglo towns and cities means a change in cultural milieu which includes additional changes in demographic, social, and economic environments. Such changes bring Indian residents into contact with situations which tend to accelerate acculturation but the type of urban community will affect the speed of acceleration and factors of personal choice. It is believed that the medium-sized city containing certain characteristics provides sufficient alternatives as well as a condusive social climate for the optimum functioning of the urban acculturation process and the formation of plural cultural groups.

Components in the examination of urban acculturation process thus include the characteristics of the reservation culture and its proximity to urban centers, the decisions and expectations of the migrant, the urban community and its attributes, the changes entailed by migration, and an applicable typology of Indian residents.

Suggestions for Future Research

Since thepresent research was designed as a survey only, a future study of Flagstaff, Winslow, or both towns should include greater detailed information in all areas, more informants, Anglos, Indian and others, and sharper definition of hypotheses. Of course, such a re-study should be longer than three months and have more than two workers. Specific questions relative to Flagstaff, Winslow, and general urban acculturation in northern Arizona might include the following;

1. Do pueblo-dwelling and non-pueblo dwelling Indian people differ in their attitude toward city life?
2. Do persons from reservation "agency towns" experience fewer social, housing, and employment problems than persons from smaller, more traditional communities and areas?

3. What is the average age of migrating individuals and families? Is there a significant difference between tribal groups?

4. What are some reasons for migrants leaving towns and returning to reservation homes? Are these reasons similar to the factors obtaining in larger cities where migrants are largely relocatees?

5. Do persons who have lived in border town dormitories as children have greater "success" as adults in these towns than those persons who have not had this experience?

6. How might "urban success" or "urban adjustment" be functionally defined?

On a broader scale, theoretical and comparative work might be accomplished regarding the "self-relocated" and "government-relocated" city dwellers and the possible differences between them. Typological schemes previously described might be re-examined for comparable features; perhaps widely applicable categories could be devised. The folk-urban continuum might be tested by research in reservation communities of various types and border towns. Finally, comparison of American Indian urban residents and other urban groups having non-urban cultural heritages would be instructive.

The present survey has been designed to reveal some factual material of interest to various persons and to delimit areas of future study. It has shown that the urban migration picture as described by Vogt for the Navajo as well as other groups is in great need of research. Vogt states that...

> Recently Pueblos and Spanish-Americans have also drifted into Anglo-American towns and cities as have Navajos , and in some towns, such as Flagstaff, Arizona, there are "across-the-tracks" neighborhoods composed of Indians, Spanish-Americans, and Negros (1961:308).

Research in the field of urban acculturation is increasing and work is needed in various types of cities and towns with various native American groups. It is hoped that this report partially fills a gap in research of American Indian urban residents representing various tribal groups in two medium-sized Southwestern towns near major reservations.

Appendix A: Form for Anglo Residents

Name:____

Place:____

Position:_______________________________________

Years in Flagstaff (City born; Arizona born):________________

Type of contact:____

Estimate Flagstaff's Indian Population:

Estimate economic impact of "Indian trade" (off and on Reservation) to city economy:

Indians discriminated against?
   (running for election)
   ("Indian problem"?)

Indian contribute to Flagstaff as "Anglo" town:

As you know, Hopi and Navajo have different ways of living - which do you think would have an easier time adjusting to Flagstaff as a city?

Any Indian friends or neighbors?

Appendix B: Long Form for Indian Residents

Name: Married: yes no
Address: No. Children
Age: Census No. Tribe:
Clan: Time in Flagstaff:
Spouse same tribe:
Reservation Home:
Keep sheep or farming plot on Reservation:
Have home on Reservation:
Father's occupation when young:
Lived in other "border towns"?:
Lived in Reservation towns?:
Lived/worked in other towns?:
Flagstaff Home; rent own build own land
No. rooms: No. people in Household
(relationship)
Furnishings (appliances, furniture, rugs)
Utilities (water, plumbing, electricity, gas):
Type of home: (house, apartment, trailer, etc.)
How long in present home:
Other Flagstaff homes:
If rent, how was house found?:
Education: (highest grade completed)
Any vocational training?:
Kids in school?:
Work: (present or most recent):
Job type & description:
Other Flagstaff jobs:
Union? Work with other Indians:
How was job found?:
Crafts as suppliment?:
Annual Family Income (estimate):
Sources:
Comments on job:

Do you think Indian people who are newcomers to Flagstaff act or dress differently than those who have lived here a long time?

Do you think Indian people are treated ok, fairly in town?

Has anyone been arrested by Police since you have been living here?

What do you think is the "No. 1" problem that Indian people in town have?

Do you think an Indian Center like the one in Winslow would help Indian in town? (What might it do)

Do you think Hopi or Navajo people has an easier time getting used to living in a city?

Will there be more Indian people living in town in the future? (Indians in city government? Ever voted in election?)

How many Indian people on this list do you know (add to?)

Flagstaff life:
- Native Language in home?
- Belong to Church, political, etc. groups?
- Visit with Indian friends? (frequently, how many know, know any non-Hopi or Navajo)
- Visit with non-Indian friends? (frequency, how many know)
- Relatives or married children living in town?

When was first visit to Flagstaff?
Remember much about it?
Reasons for living in Flagstaff?

What do you not like about living in Flagstaff?

What do you like about living in Flagstaff?

What do you not like about living on Reservation?

What do you like about living on Reservation?

Do you plan to go back to Reservation to live? (when old)

How often do you go back to Reservation to visit?

Who do you usually visit?

Reasons for going back?

Do you send money or food to relatives when you go back?

Do you get money or food, etc. from relatives on Reservation?

Have you bought anything on time while in Flagstaff? (still owe? Bank account?)

When you are sick do you go to Indian Hospital or any doctor?

What do you do for recreation or entertainment? (TV, Club 66 or other bars, movies, etc.)

Do relatives come to visit you often? (When usually)

Appendix C: Shorter Form for Indian Residents

Name:__________________________ Tribe:_______________________
Address:_________________________ Married-Single-Other_________
No. Children:________________

Time in Flagstaff/Winslow?

Where did you live before moving to Flagstaff/Winslow?

Where do you work? How long?

What do you like about living in Flagstaff/Winslow?

What do you dislike about living in Flagstaff/Winslow?

What do you like about living on the Reservation?

What do you dislike about living on the Reservation?

What do you do for recreation?

Do you think Indian people are treated farily in town?

What do you think is the "No. 1" problem that Indian people living in town have?

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APPENDIX D

CITY DIRECTORIES

Flagstaff

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1955	Flagstaff City Directory. published by National Home Directory Company, Phoenix.
1958	Flagstaff City Directory. published by the Flagstaff Directory Company, Charles O. Coulson Publisher.
1961	Flagstaff City Directory Suppliment. published by The Mullin-Kille Company of Arizona.
1963	Flagstaff City Directory. published by The Mullin-Kille Company of Arizona.
1965	Flagstaff City Directory. published by The Johnson Publishing Company, Loveland, Colorado.

Winslow

1958	Winslow City Directory. Charles O. Coulson, Publisher.
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